This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

3 co. 23 r 1132

Don BA

r 1132

Don BAR[redacted]

Washington's

POLITICAL LEGACIES.

TO WHICH IS ANNEXED AN

Appendix,

CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF HIS *ILLNESS*, *DEATH*, AND THE *NATIONAL TRIBUTES* OF *RESPECT* PAID TO HIS MEMORY,

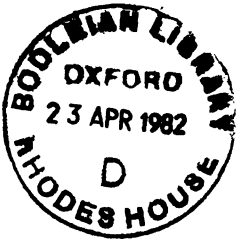
WITH A

Biographical Outline

OF HIS

LIFE AND CHARACTER.

Boston,
PRINTED FOR *JOHN RUSSELL* AND *JOHN WEST*
1800.


BODLEIAN LIBRARY
OXFORD
23 APR 1982
D
RHODES HOUSE

TO

MRS. WASHINGTON.

MADAM,

IN offering this Volume to your Patronage, and presenting it to the World under the Sanction of your NAME—a Name as endeared by Virtues, as illustrious from Glory—we feel that we are giving interest to excellence, and attaching tenderness to pre-eminence.

IN partaking the Solicitude, alleviating the Cares, and engaging the Confidence of that great, and disinterested Mind, which speaks in these pages, you have so well known to appreciate the Endowments, and to profit from the high Example, as to prefer the patriotic Duties to the selfish Sensibilities, by resigning, to the claim of a Nation, that dear and

solitary Sentiment, whose Hope, more strong than Death, would descend to the Tomb, mingle with the Ashes, and share the Sepulchre of departed affection,—Nor will you be divided—the Poet, and the Moralist, while they contemplate the *secluded Hero*, will perpetuate the *Charm* that gladdened, and the *Virtue* that rewarded every effort of a mind, which, commanding victory, and obtaining glory, could controul with temperance, and possess with moderation; and which, at the dangerous summit of popular applause, was neither dazled by elevation, nor diminished by distance.

To you, the first mourner of a bereaved People, the melancholy consolation will remain, that a whole nation venerates your Virtues, and partakes your afflictions—Indeed every part of the civilized Earth will commemorate that excellence which

cannot die—that MORTAL, who, born for the human race, crowned with its highest Homage, and graced with its best Exaltation, still instructs, and inspires, by the words of Wisdom, falling from the lips of IMMORTALITY.

WITH sympathy, sacred and devoted, with respect, veneration and gratitude, we remain, Madam, your obedient humble servants,

THE EDITORS.

BOSTON, MARCH, 1800.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE compilers of this volume think proper to declare, that, in collecting the papers and materials which constitute its contents, they have used only those which the sainted WASHINGTON wrote, when it was in his great and wise mind to instruct, direct, and admonish his countrymen: they conceive that to have departed from this rule might have led them to matter, sufficiently abundant, to fill many volumes, and not so immediately connected with the public expectation. In this volume will be found all those great truths, and virtuous recommendations, which, if cherished and practised, must lead this nation to prosperity, happiness, and glory: the author of the biographical outline of General WASHINGTON, which forms a part of this work, is evidently indebted, for his dates, to the valuable publications of the rev. Dr. MORSE, MISS HANNAH ADAMS, and some european prints.

THE original proposal for publishing this work, promised The President's letter of condolence to Mrs. WASHINGTON; but this could not be obtained—we are, however, authorised in saying, that his message to Congress, communicating that virtuous lady's answer, contains the spirit of it.

Boston, March 1800.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

DEDICATION to Mrs. *Washington* - - 3
Advertisement - - - - - - - - - - - 6
Gen. *Washington's* appointment to the command of the American army, in 1775 - - - - 9
His order on the cessation of hostilities - - 11
His circular letter to the Governors of the several states, in 1783 - - - - - - - - - 16
The address of Congress on the acknowledgment of his eminent services - - - - - - 38
His answer - - - - - - - - - - - - 39
His farewel address to the army - - - - - 41
His address to Congress on resigning his military commi sion - - - - - - - - - - 50
Their answer - - - - - - - - - - - 52
His inaugural speech to Congress, in 1789 - 55
His valedictory address to his fellow citizens - 64
His letter to President *Adams*, on accepting the command of the American army, in 1798 - 98
Gen. *Marshall's* address to the speaker of the house of representatives, on the report of the death of Gen. *Washington* - - - - - - 103
The president's message to Congress, enclosing Col. *Lear's* letter, announcing the death of Gen. *Washinnton* - - - - - - - - 104
Gen. *Marshall's* second address to Congress - 105
Resolutions of Congress respecting the manner of paying suitable honours to the memory of Gen. *Washington* - - - - - - - - - - 108
Address of condolence from the house of representatives to the president - - - 109
His answer - - - - - - - - - - - - 110

Address of condolence from the senate to the president - - - - - - - - - - - 110
His answer - - - - - - - - - - - - 112
Resolutions of Congress for perpetuating the memory of Gen. *Washington* - - - - - 115
Gen. *Lee's* Eulogy, pronounced before the national legislature - - - - - - - - - - 118
The presidents' proclamation - - - - - 135
Particular account of the last illness of Gen. *Washington* - - - - - - - - - - - 136
His funeral - - - - - - - - - - - 139
The president's message to Congress, communicating Mrs. *Washington's* letter - - - 144
Biographical outline of Gen. *Washington* - - 146
Anonymous address to the American army, in 1783 - - - - - - - - - - - 192
Gen. *Washington's* address to the army in answer to this artful and insidious address - 199

Washington's

POLITICAL LEGACIES.

IN CONGRESS, }
Thursday, June 15, 1775. }

RESOLVED, That a GENERAL be appointed to command all the continental forces, raised, or to be raised, for the defence of American liberty.

THAT five hundred dollars per month be allowed for the pay and expences of the general.

THE Congress then proceeded to the choice of a General, by ballot, and *GEORGE WASHINGTON, ESQ.* was unanimously elected.

Friday, June 16, 1775.

THE President informed col. WASHINGTON that the Congress had, yesterday, unanimously made choice of him to be general and commander in chief of the American forces, and requested he would accept of that employment; to which col. WASHINGTON, standing in his place, as a member of the house, answered:

" *MR. PRESIDENT*,

" THOUGH I am truly sensible of the high honour done me in this appointment, yet I feel great distress, from a consciousness that my abilities and military experience may not be equal to the extensive and important trust: however, as the Congress desire it, I will enter upon the momentous duty, and exert every power I possess, in their service, for support of the glorious cause. I beg they will accept my most cordial thanks for this distinguished testimony of their approbation.

" BUT, lest some event should happen unfavourable to my reputation, I beg it may be remembered by every gentleman in the room, that I, this day, declare with the utmost sincerity, I do not think myself equal to the command I am honoured with.

" WITH respect to pay, sir, I must beg leave to assure Congress, that as no pecuniary consideration could have tempted me to accept this arduous employment, at the expence of my domestic ease and happiness, I do not wish to make any profit from it. I will keep an exact account of my expences. Those I doubt not they will discharge, and that is all I desire."

ON THE CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES, *GENERAL WASHINGTON* ISSUED THE FOLLOWING ORDERS :

Head-Quarters, Newburg, April 18, 1783.

THE commander in chief orders the cessation of hostilities between the United States of America and the king of Great-Britain, to be publickly proclaimed to-morrow at 12 o'clock, at the new building; and that the proclamation which will be communicated herewith, be read to-morrow evening, at the head of every regiment and corps of the army; after which, the chaplains, with the several brigades, will render thanks to Almighty God for all his mercies, particularly for his over-ruling the wrath of man to his own glory, and causing the rage of war to cease amongst the nations.

ALTHOUGH the proclamation before alluded to, extends only to the prohibition of hostilities, and not to the annunciation of a general peace, yet it must afford the most rational and sincere satisfaction to every benevolent mind, as it puts a period to a long and doubtful contest—stops the effusion of human blood—opens the prospect to a more splendid scene—and, like another morning

star, promises the approach of a brighter day than has hitherto illuminated this western hemisphere! on such a happy day—a day which is the harbinger of peace—a day which completes the eighth year of the war, it would be ingratitude not to rejoice: it would be insensibility not to participate in the general felicity.

THE commander in chief, far from endeavouring to stifle the feelings of joy in his own bosom, offers his most cordial congratulations on the occasion, to all the officers of every denomination—to all the troops of the United States in general, and in particular to those gallant and persevering men, who had resolved to defend the rights of their invaded country so long as the war should continue; for these are the men who ought to be considered as the pride and boast of the American army, and who, crowned with well-earned laurels, may soon withdraw from the field of glory to the more tranquil walks of civil life.

WHILE the General recollects the almost infinite variety of scenes through which we have passed with a mixture of pleasure, astonishment and gratitude—while he con-

templates the prospects before us with rapture—he cannot help wishing that all the brave men, of whatever condition they may be, who have shared in the toils and dangers of effecting this glorious revolution, of rescuing millions from the hand of oppression, and of laying the foundation of a great empire, might be impressed with a proper idea of the dignified part they have been called to act (under the smiles of providence) on the stage of human affairs; for happy, thrice happy, shall they be pronounced hereafter, who have contributed any thing, who have performed the meanest office in erecting this stupendous *fabric of Freedom and Empire*, on the broad basis of independency; who have assisted in protecting the rights of human nature, and establishing an asylum for the poor and oppressed of all nations and religions.

THE glorious task for which we first flew to arms, being thus accomplished—the liberties of our country being fully acknowledged and firmly secured, by the smiles of Heaven, on the purity of our cause, and the honest exertions of a feeble people, determined to be free, against a powerful nation disposed to oppress them; and the character of those

who have persevered through every extremity of hardship, suffering, and danger, being immortalized by the illustrious appellation of the *Patriot Army*, nothing now remains but for the actors of this mighty scene to preserve a perfect, unvarying consistency of character through the very last act; to close the drama with applause; and to retire from the military theatre with the same approbation of angels and men, which have crowned all their former virtuous actions.

FOR this purpose, no disorder or licentiousness must be tolerated; every considerate and well-disposed soldier must remember, it will be absolutely necessary to wait with patience, until peace shall be declared, or Congress shall be enabled to take proper measures for the security of the public stores, &c. As soon as these arrangements shall be made, the General is confident there will be no delay in discharging, with every mark of distinction and honour, all the men enlisted for the war, who will then have faithfully performed their engagements with the public. The General has already interested himself in their behalf; and he thinks he need not repeat the assurances of his disposition to be useful to them on the present, and eve-

ry other proper occasion. In the mean time he is determined that no military neglects or excesses shall go unpunished, while he retains the command of the army.

THE adjutant-general will have such working-parties detached to assist in making the preparation for a general rejoicing, as the chief engineer, with the army, shall call for; and the quarter-master-general will also furnish such materials as he may want. The quarter-master-general will, without delay, procure such a number of discharges to be printed as will be sufficient for all the men enlisted for the war; he will please to apply to head-quarters for the form.

AN extra ration of liquor to be issued to every man to-morrow, to drink PERPETUAL PEACE, INDEPENDENCE, AND HAPPINESS TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

A CIRCULAR LETTER,

FROM HIS EXCELLENCY *GEORGE WASHINGTON*, COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE ARMIES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, TO THE *GOVERNORS* OF THE SEVERAL STATES.

Head-Quarters, Newburg, June 18, 1783.

SIR,

THE great object for which I had the honor to hold an appointment in the service of my country, being accomplished, I am now preparing to resign it into the hands of congress, and return to that domestic retirement, which, it is well known, I left with the greatest reluctance; a retirement for which I have never ceased to sigh through a long and painful absence, in which (remote from the noise and trouble of the world) I meditate to pass the remainder of life in a state of undisturbed repose; but, before I carry this resolution into effect, I think it a duty incumbent on me to make this my last official communication, to congratulate you on the glorious events which Heaven has been pleased to produce in our favour, to offer my sentiments respecting some important subjects, which appear to me to be intimately connected with the tranquillity of the United States, to take my leave of your Excellency as a public cha-

racter, and to give my final blessing to that country in whose service I have spent the prime of my life; for whose sake I have consumed so many anxious days and watchful nights; and whose happiness, being extremely dear to me, will always constitute no inconsiderable part of my own.

IMPRESSED with the liveliest sensibility on this pleasing occasion, I will claim the indulgence of dilating the more copiously on the subject of our mutual felicitation. When we consider the magnitude of the prize we contended for, the doubtful nature of the contest, and the favourable manner in which it has terminated; we shall find the greatest possible reason for gratitude and rejoicing: this is a theme that will afford infinite delight to every benevolent and liberal mind, whether the event in contemplation be considered as a source of present enjoyment, or the parent of future happiness; and we shall have equal occasion to felicitate ourselves on the lot which providence has assigned us, whether we view it in a natural, a political, or moral point of view.

THE citizens of America, placed in the most enviable condition, as the sole lords and

proprietors of a vast tract of continent, comprehending all the various soils and climates of the world, and abounding with all the necessaries and conveniencies of life, are now, by the late satisfactory pacification, acknowledged to be possessed of absolute freedom and independency; they are, from this period to be considered as the actors on a most conspicuous theatre, which seems to be peculiarly designed by providence for the display of human greatness and felicity: here they are not only surrounded with every thing that can contribute to the completion of private and domestic enjoyment, but heaven has crowned all its other blessings, by giving a surer opportunity for political happiness than any other nation has ever been favoured with. Nothing can illustrate these observations more forcibly than the recollection of the happy conjuncture of times and circumstances, under which our republic assumed its rank among the nations. The foundation of our empire was not laid in a gloomy age of ignorance and superstition, but at an epoch when the rights of mankind were better understood, and more clearly defined than at any former period: researches of the human mind after social happiness have been carried

to a great extent: the treasures of knowledge acquired by the labours of philosophers, sages, and legislators, through a long succession of years, are laid open for us, and their collected wisdom may be happily applied in the establishment of our forms of government: the free cultivation of letters, the unbounded extension of commerce, the progressive refinement of manners, the growing liberality of sentiment, and, above all, the pure and benign light of revelation, have had a meliorating influence on mankind, and increased the blessings of society. At this auspicious period the United States came into existence as a nation, and if their citizens should not be completely free and happy, the fault will be entirely their own.

SUCH is our situation, and such are our prospects; but notwithstanding the cup of blessing is thus reached out to us—notwithstanding happiness is ours, if we have a disposition to seize the occasion, and make it our own; yet it appears to me, there is an option still left to the United States of America, whether they will be respectable and prosperous, or contemptible and miserable as a nation. This is the time of their political pro-

bation; this is the moment, when the eyes of the whole world are turned upon them; this is the time to establish or ruin their national character forever; this is the favourable moment to give such a tone to the federal government, as will enable it to answer the ends of its institution; or this may be the ill-fated moment for relaxing the powers of the union, annihilating the cement of the confederation, and exposing us to become the sport of European politics, which may play one state against another, to prevent their growing importance, and to serve their own interested purposes. For, according to the system of policy the states shall adopt at this moment, they will stand or fall; and, by their confirmation or lapse, it is yet to be decided, whether the revolution must ultimately be considered as a blessing or a curse; a blessing or a curse, not to the present age alone, for with our fate will the destiny of unborn millions be involved.

WITH this conviction of the importance of the present crisis, silence in me would be a crime. I will therefore speak to your Excellency the language of freedom and sincerity, without disguise. I am aware, how-

ever, those who differ from me in political sentiments, may perhaps remark, I am stepping out of the proper line of my duty; and they may possibly ascribe to arrogance or ostentation, what I know is alone the result of the purest intention; but the rectitude of my own heart, which disdains such unworthy motives—the part I have hitherto acted in life—the determination I have formed of not taking any ſhare in public buſiness hereafter—the ardent desire I feel and shall continue to manifest, of quietly enjoying in private life, after all the toils of war, the benefits of a wise and liberal government—will, I flatter myself, sooner or later, convince my countrymen, that I could have no sinister views in delivering, with so little reserve, the opinions contained in this Address.

THERE are four things which I humbly conceive are essential to the well-being, I may even venture to say, to the existence of the United States, as an independent power.

1*ſt.* AN indissoluble union of the states under one federal head.

2*dly.* A sacred regard to public justice.

3*dly.* THE adoption of a proper peace establishment. And,

4thly. THE prevalence of that pacific and friendly disposition among the people of the United States, which will induce them to forget their local prejudices and policies, to make those mutual concessions which are requisite to the general prosperity, and, in some instances, to sacrifice their individual advantages to the interest of the community.

THESE are the pillars on which the glorious fabric of our independency and national character must be supported. Liberty is the basis, and whoever would dare to sap the foundation, or overturn the structure, under whatever specious pretext he may attempt it, will merit the bitterest execration and the severest punishment which can be inflicted by his injured country.

ON the three first articles I will make a few observations, leaving the last to the good sense and serious consideration of those immediately concerned.

UNDER the first head, although it may not be neceſſary or proper for me in this place to enter into a particular disquisition of the principles of the union, and to take up the great question which has been fre-

quently agitated, whether it be expedient and requisite for the states to delegate a large proportion of power to Congress, or not; yet it will be a part of my duty, and that of every true patriot, to assert, without reserve, and to insist upon the following positions. That unless the states will suffer Congress to exercise those prerogatives they are undoubtedly invested with by the constitution, every thing must very rapidly tend to anarchy and confusion.—That it is indispensable to the happiness of the individual states, that there should be lodged, somewhere, a supreme power, to regulate and govern the general concerns of the confederated republic, without which the union cannot be of long duration.—That there must be a faithful and pointed compliance on the part of every state with the late proposals and demands of Congress, or the most fatal consequences will ensue.—That whatever measures have a tendency to dissolve the union, or contribute to violate or lessen the sovereign authority, ought to be considered as hostile to the liberty and independency of America, and the authors of them treated accordingly.—And lastly, that unless we can be enabled by the concurrence of the states, to participate of the

fruits of the revolution, and enjoy the essential benefits of civil society, under a form of government so free and uncorrupted, so happily guarded against the danger of oppression, as has been devised and adopted by the articles of confederation, it will be a subject of regret, that so much blood and treasure have been lavished for no purpose; that so many sufferings have been encountered without a compensation, and that so many sacrifices have been made in vain. Many other considerations might here be adduced to prove, that without an entire conformity to the spirit of the union, we cannot exist as an independent power. It will be sufficient for my purpose to mention but one or two, which seem to me of the greatest importance. It is only in our united character, as an empire, that our independence is acknowledged, that our power can be regarded, or our credit supported among foreign nations. The treaties of the European powers with the United States of America, will have no validity on the dissolution of the union. We shall be left nearly in a state of nature; or we may find, by our own unhappy experience, that there is a natural and necessary progression from the extreme of anarchy to

the extreme of tyranny; and that arbitrary power is most easily established on the ruins of liberty abused to licentiousness.

As to the second article, which respects the performance of public justice, Congress have, in their late Address to the United States, almost exhausted the subject; they have explained their ideas so fully, and have enforced the obligations the states are under to render complete justice to all the public creditors, with so much dignity and energy, that in my opinion, no real friend to the honour and independency of America can hesitate a single moment respecting the propriety of complying with the just and honourable measures proposed. If their arguments do not produce conviction, I know of nothing that will have greater influence, especially when we reflect that the system referred to, being the result of the collected wisdom of the continent, must be esteemed, if not perfect, certainly the least objectionable of any that could be devised; and that, if it should not be carried into immediate execution, a national bankruptcy, with all its deplorable consequences, will take place, before any different plan can possibly be pro-

posed or adopted; so pressing are the present circumstances, and such is the alternative now offered to the states.

THE ability of the country to discharge the debts which have been incurred in its defence, is not to be doubted. An inclination, I flatter myself, will not be wanting; the path of our duty is plain before us; honesty will be found, on every experiment, to be the best and only true policy. Let us then, as a nation, be just; let us fulfil the public contracts which Congress had undoubtedly a right to make for the purpose of carrying on the war, with the same good faith we suppose ourselves bound to perform our private engagements. In the mean time let an attention to the cheerful performance of their proper business, as individuals, and as members of society, be earnestly inculcated on the citizens of America; then will they strengthen the bands of government, and be happy under its protection. Every one will reap the fruit of his labours; every one will enjoy his own acquisitions, without molestation and without danger.

IN this state of absolute freedom and perfect security, who will grudge to yield a very little of his property to support the common interests of society, and ensure the protection of government? who does not remember the frequent declarations at the commencement of the war, that we should be completely satisfied, if at the expense of one half, we could defend the remainder of our possessions? where is the man to be found, who wishes to remain indebted for the defence of his own person and property to the exertions, the bravery, and the blood of others, without making one generous effort to pay the debt of honour and of gratitude? in what part of the continent shall we find any man, or body of men, who would not blush to stand up, and propose measures purposely calculated to rob the soldier of his stipend, and the public creditor of his due? And were it possible that such a flagrant instance of injustice could ever happen, would it not excite the general indignation, and tend to bring down upon the authors of such measures, the aggravated vengeance of heaven? If, after all, a spirit of disunion, or a temper of obstinacy and perverseness should manifest itself in any of the states; if such

an ungracious disposition ſhould attempt to frustrate all the happy effects that might be expected to flow from the union; if there should be a refusal to comply with the requisitions for funds to discharge the annual interest of the public debts, and if that refusal should revive all those jealousies, and produce all those evils which are now happily removed—Congress, who have in all their transactions shewn a great degree of magnanimity and justice, will stand justified in the sight of God and man! And that State alone, which puts itself in opposition to the aggregate wisdom of the continent, and follows such mistaken and pernicious councils, will be responsible for all the consequences.

FOR my own part, conscious of having acted, while a servant of the public, in the manner I conceived best suited to promote the real interests of my country; having, in consequence of my fixed belief, in some measure, pledged myself to the army, that their country would finally do them complete and ample justice, and not willing to conceal any instance of my official conduct from the eyes of the world, I have thought proper to transmit to your excellency the in-

closed collection of papers, relative to the half-pay and commutation granted by Congress to the officers of the army: from these communications, my decided sentiment will be clearly comprehended, together with the conclusive reasons, which induced me at an early period, to reccommend the adoption of this measure in the most earnest and serious manner. As the proceedings of Congress, the army, and myself, are open to all, and contain, in my opinion, sufficient information to remove the prejudice and errors which may have been entertained by any, I think it unnecessary to say any thing more, than just to observe, that the resolutions of Congress, now alluded to, are as undoubtedly and absolutely binding upon the United States as the most solemn acts of confederation or legislation.

As to the idea, which I am informed, has in some instances prevailed, that the half-pay and commutation are to be regarded merely in the odious light of a pension, it ought to be exploded forever: that provision should be viewed, as it really was, a reasonable compensation offered by Congress, at a time when they had nothing else to give to

officers of the army, for services then to be performed: it was the only means to prevent a total derilection of the service; it was a part of their hire. I may be allowed to say, it was the price of their blood, and of your independency; it is therefore more than a common debt, it is a debt of honour; it can never be considered as a pension or gratuity, nor cancelled until it is fairly discharged.

WITH regard to the distinction between officers and soldiers, it is sufficient that the uniform experience of every nation of the world, combined with our own, proves the utility and propriety of the discrimination. Rewards, in proportion to the aid the public draws from them, are unquestionably due to all its servants. In some lines, the soldiers have perhaps generally had as ample compensation for their services, by the large bounties which have been paid them, as their officers will receive in the proposed commutation; in others, if besides the donation of land, the payment of arrearages of cloathing and wages (in which articles all the component parts of the army must be put upon the same footing) we take into the estimate,

the bounties many of the soldiers have received, and the gratuity of one year's full pay, which is promised to all, possibly their situation (every circumstance being duly considered) will not be deemed less eligible than that of the officers. Should a farther reward, however, be judged equitable, I will venture to assert, no man will enjoy greater satisfaction than myself, in an exemption from taxes for a limited time (which has been petitioned for in some instances) or any other adequate immunity or compensation granted to the brave defenders of their country's cause: but neither the adoption or rejection of this proposition will, in any manner affect, much less militate against the act of Congress, by which they have offered five years full pay, in lieu of the half-pay for life, which had been before promised to the officers of the army.

BEFORE I conclude the subject on public justice, I cannot omit to mention the obligations this country is under to that meritorious class of veterans, the non-commissioned officers and privates, who have been discharged for inability, in consequence of the resolution of Congress, of the 23d of April,

1782, on an annual pension for life. Their peculiar sufferings, their singular merits and claims to that provision need only to be known, to interest the feelings of humanity in their behalf. Nothing but a punctual payment of their annual allowance can rescue them from the most complicated misery; and nothing could be a more melancholy and distressing sight, than to behold those who have shed their blood, or lost their limbs in the service of their country, without a shelter, without a friend, and without the means of obtaining any of the comforts or necessaries of life, compelled to beg their daily bread from door to door. Suffer me to recommend those of this description, belonging to your state, to the warmest patronage of your excellency and your legislature.

IT is necessary to say but a few words on the third topic which was proposed, and which regards particularly the defence of the republic. As there can be little doubt but Congress will recommend a proper peace establishment for the United States, in which a due attention will be paid to the importance of placing the militia of the union up-

on a regular and respectable footing; if this should be the case, I should beg leave to urge the great advantage of it in the strongest terms.

THE militia of this country must be considered as the palladium of our security, and the first effectual resort in case of hostility: it is essential, therefore, that the same system should pervade the whole; that the formation and discipline of the militia of the continent should be absolutely uniform; and that the same species of arms, accoutrements, and military apparatus, should be introduced in every part of the United States. No one, who has not learned it from experience, can conceive the difficulty, expense, and confusion which result from a contrary system, or the vague arrangements which have hitherto prevailed.

IF, in treating of political points, a greater latitude than usual has been taken in the course of this Address, the importance of the crisis, and the magnitude of the objects in discussion, must be my apology: it is, however, neither my wish nor expectation, that the preceding observations should claim any

regard, except so far as they shall appear to be dictated by a good intention; consonant to the immutable rules of justice; calculated to produce a liberal system of policy, and founded on whatever experience may have been acquired by a long and close attention to public business. Here I might speak with more confidence, from my actual observations; and if it would not swell this letter (already too prolix) beyond the bounds I had prescribed myself, I could demonstrate to every mind, open to conviction, that in less time, and with much less expense than has been incurred, the war might have been brought to the same happy conclusion, if the resources of the continent could have been properly called forth; that the distresses and disappointments which have very often occurred, have, in too many instances, resulted more from a want of energy in the continental government, than a deficiency of means in the particular states: that the inefficacy of the measures, arising from the want of an adequate authority in the supreme power, from a partial compliance with the requisitions of Congress in some of the states, and from a failure of punctuality in others, while they tended to damp the zeal

of those who were more willing to exert themselves, served also to accumulate the expenses of the war, and to frustrate the best concerted plans; and that the discouragement occasioned by the complicated difficulties and embarrassments, in which our affairs were by this means involved, would have long ago produced the dissolution of any army, less patient, less virtuous, and less persevering than that which I have had the honour to command. But while I mention those things, which are notorious facts, as the defects of our federal constitution, particularly in the prosecution of a war, I beg it may be understood, that as I have ever taken a pleasure in gratefully acknowledging the assistance and support I have derived from every class of citizens; so shall I always be happy to do justice to the unparalleled exertions of the individual states, on many interesting occasions.

I HAVE thus freely disclosed what I wished to make known before I surrendered up my public trust to those who committed it to me: the task is now accomplished. I now bid adieu to your excellency, as the chief magistrate of your state; at the same time

I bid a last farewel to the cares of office, and all the employments of public life.

IT remains, then, to be my final and only request, that your excellency will communicate these sentiments to your legislature, at their next meeting; and that they may be considered as the legacy of one who has ardently wished, on all occasions, to be useful to his country, and who, even in the shade of retirement, will not fail to implore the divine benediction upon it.

I NOW make it my earnest prayer, that God would have you, and the state over which you preside, in his holy protection; that he would incline the hearts of the citizens to cultivate a spirit of subordination and obedience to government; to entertain a brotherly affection and love for one another, for their fellow citizens of the United States at large; and particularly for their brethren who have served in the field; and finally, that he would most graciously be pleased to dispose us all to do justice, to love mercy, and to demean ourselves with that charity, humility, and pacific temper of the mind, which were the characteristics of the divine

author of our blessed religion; without an humble imitation of whose example, in these things, we can never hope to be a happy nation.

I HAVE the honour to be, with much esteem and respect, sir, your excellency's most obedient, and most humble servant,

G. WASHINGTON.

IN CONGRESS,

Princeton, Aug. 26, 1783.

GENERAL *WASHINGTON* BEING INTRODUCED BY TWO MEMBERS, THE PRESIDENT ADDRESSED HIM AS FOLLOWS:

SIR,

CONGRESS feel particular pleasure in seeing your excellency, and in congratulating you on the success of a war in which you have acted so conspicuous a part.

IT has been the singular happiness of the United States, that during a war so long, so dangerous, and so important, Providence has been graciously pleased to preserve the life of a General, who has merited and possessed the uninterrupted confidence and affection of his fellow-citizens. In other nations many have performed services for which they have deserved and received the thanks of the public; but to you, sir, peculiar praise is due, your services have been essential in acquiring and establishing the freedom and independence of your country; they deserve the grateful acknowledgments of a free and independent nation: those ac-

knowledgments Congress have the satisfaction of expressing to your excellency.

HOSTILITIES have now ceased, but your country still needs your services; she wishes to avail herself of your talents in forming the arrangements which will be necessary for her in the time of peace; for this reason your attendance at Congress has been requested. A committee is appointed to confer with your excellency, and to receive your assistance in preparing and adjusting plans relative to these important objects.

TO WHICH HIS EXCELLENCY MADE THE FOLLOWING REPLY.

MR. PRESIDENT,

I AM too sensible of the honourable reception I have now experienced, not to be penetrated with the deepest feelings of gratitude.

NOTWITHSTANDING Congress appear to estimate the value of my life beyond any services I have been able to render the United States, yet I must be permitted to consider the wisdom and unanimity of our national councils, the firmness of our citizens,

and the patience and bravery of our troops, which have produced so happy a termination of the war, as the most conspicuous effect of the divine interposition, and the surest presage of our future happiness.

HIGHLY gratified by the favourable sentiments which Congress are pleased to express of my past conduct, and amply rewarded by the confidence and affection of my fellow citizens, I cannot hesitate to contribute my best endeavours towards the establishment of the national security in whatever manner the sovereign power may think proper to direct, until the ratification of the definitive treaty of peace, or the final evacuation of our country by the British forces; after either of which events, I shall ask permission to retire to the peaceful shade of private life.

PERHAPS, sir, no occasion may offer more suitable than the present to express my humble thanks to God, and my grateful acknowledgments to my country, for the great and universal support I have received in every vicissitude of fortune, and for the many distinguished honours which Congress have been pleased to confer upon me in the course of the war.

FAREWELL ADDRESS

OF GENERAL *WASHINGTON* TO THE ARMIES OF THE UNITED STATES.

Rocky-Hill, near Princeton, Nov. 2, 1783.

THE United States in Congress assembled, after giving the most honourable testimony to the merits of the federal armies, and presenting them with the thanks of their country, for their long, eminent and faithful service, having thought proper, by their proclamation bearing date the 18th of October last, to discharge such part of the troops as were engaged for the war, and to permit the officers on furlough to retire from service, from and after to-morrow, which proclamation having been communicated in the public papers for the information and government of all concerned; it only remains for the commander in chief to address himself once more, and that for the last time, to the armies of the United States, (however widely dispersed individuals who compose them may be) and to bid them an affectionate, a long farewel.

BUT before the commander in chief takes his final leave of those he holds most dear,

he wishes to indulge himself a few moments in calling to mind a slight review of the past:—he will then take the liberty of exploring, with his military friends, their future prospects; of advising the general line of conduct which in his opinion ought to be pursued; and he will conclude the Address, by expressing the obligations he feels himself under for the spirited and able assistance he has experienced from them, in the performance of an arduous office.

A CONTEMPLATION of the complete attainment (at a period earlier than could have been expected) of the object for which we contended against so formidable a power, cannot but inspire us with astonishment and gratitude. The disadvantageous circumstances on our part, with which the war was undertaken, can never be forgotten. The singular interposition of providence in our feeble condition, were such as could scarcely escape the attention of the most unobserving—while the unparalleled perseverance of the armies of the United States, through almost every possible suffering and discouragement, for the space of eight long years, was little short of a standing miracle.

IT is not the meaning, nor within the compass of this Address, to detail the hardships peculiarly incident to our service, or to describe the distresses which in several instances have resulted from the extremes of hunger and nakedness, combined with the rigours of an inclement season; nor is it necessary to dwell on the dark side of our past affairs. Every American officer and soldier must now console himself for any unpleasant circumstances which may have occurred, by a recollection of the uncommon scenes in which he has been called to act no inglorious part, and the astonishing events of which he has been a witness; events which have seldom, if ever before, taken place on the stage of human action, nor can they probably ever happen again. For who has before seen a disciplined army formed at once from such raw materials? who that was not a witness could imagine that the most violent local prejudices would cease so soon, and that men who came from the different parts of the continent, strongly disposed by the habits of education to despise and quarrel with each other, would instantly become one patriotic band of brothers? or who that was not on the spot, can trace

the steps by which such a wonderful revolution has been effected, and such a glorious period put to all our warlike toils?

IT is universally acknowledged, that the enlarged prospects of happiness, opened by the confirmation of our independence and sovereignty, almost exceed the power of description: and shall not the brave men who have contributed so essentially to these inestimable acquisitions, retiring victorious from the field of war to the field of agriculture, participate in all the blessings which have been obtained? In such a republic, who will exclude them from the rights of citizens, and the fruits of their labours? in such a country, so happily circumstanced, the pursuits of commerce, and the cultivation of the soil, will unfold to industry the certain road to competence. To those hardy soldiers who are actuated by the spirit of adventure, the fisheries will afford ample and profitable employment; and the extensive and fertile regions of the west will yield a most happy asylum to those who, fond of domestic enjoyment, are seeking personal independence. Nor is it possible to conceive that any one of the United States will prefer a national bankrupt-

cy, and the dissolution of the union, to a compliance with the requisitions of Congress, and the payment of its just debts; so that the officers and soldiers may expect considerable assistance, in recommencing their civil occupations, from the sums due to them from the public, which must and will most inevitably be paid.

IN order to effect this desirable purpose, and to remove the prejudices which may have taken possession of the minds of any of the good people of the states, it is earnestly recommended to all the troops, that, with strong attachments to the union, they should carry with them into civil society the most conciliating dispositions; and that they should prove themselves not less virtuous and useful as citizens, than they have been persevering and victorious as soldiers. What though there should be some envious individuals, who are unwilling to pay the debt the public has contracted, or to yield the tribute due to merit; yet let such unworthy treatment produce no invective, or any instance of intemperate conduct; let it be remembered, that the unbiassed voice of the free citizens of the United States has

promised the just reward, and given the merited applause; let it be known and remembered, that the reputation of the federal armies is established beyond the reach of malevolence; and let a consciousness of their achievements, and fame, still excite the men who composed them to honourable actions, under the persuasion, that the private virtues of economy, prudence, and industry, will not be less amiable in civil life, than the more splendid qualities of valour, perseverance, and enterprize were in the field. Every one may rest assured that much of the future happiness of the officers and men, will depend upon the wise and manly conduct which shall be adopted by them, when they are mingled with the great body of the community. And although the general has so frequently given it as his opinion, in the most public and explicit manner, that unless the principles of the federal government were properly supported, and the powers of the union increased, the honour, dignity, and justice of the nation, would be lost forever; yet he cannot help repeating on this occasion so interesting a sentiment, and leaving it as his last injunction to every officer and every

soldier who may view the subject in the same serious point of light, to add his best endeavours to those of his worthy fellow-citizens, towards effecting these great and valuable purposes, on which our very existence as a nation so materially depends.

THE commander in chief conceives little is now wanting to enable the soldier to change the military character into that of a citizen, but that steady and decent tenor of behaviour, which has generally distinguished not only the army under his immediate command, but the different detachments and separate armies, through the course of the war. From their good sense and prudence he anticipated the happiest consequences: and while he congratulates them on the glorious occasion which renders their services in the field no longer necessary, he wishes to express the strong obligations he feels himself under for the assistance he has received from every class, and in every instance. He presents his thanks, in the most serious and affectionate manner, to the general officers, as well for their counsel on many interesting occasions, as for their ardour in promoting the success of the plans he had

adopted; to the commandants of regiments and corps, and to the officers for their zeal and attention in carrying his orders promptly into execution; to the staff, for their alacrity and exactness in performing the duties of their several departments; and to the non-commissioned officers and private soldiers, for their extraordinary patience in suffering, as well as their invincible fortitude in action. To all the branches of the army the general takes this last and solemn opportunity of professing his inviolable attachment and friendship: he wishes more than bare professions were in his power, that he was really able to be useful to them all in future life. He flatters himself, however, they will do him the justice to believe, that whatever could with propriety be attempted by him, has been done. And being now to conclude these his last public orders, to take his ultimate leave, in a short time, of the military character, and to bid a final adieu to the armies he has so long had the honour to command, he can only again offer, in their behalf, his recommendations to their grateful country, and his prayers to the God of armies. May ample justice be done them here, and may the choicest of heaven's favours,

both here and hereafter, attend those, who, under the divine auspices, have secured innumerable blessings for others! With these wishes, and this benediction, the commander in chief is about to retire from service. The curtain of separation will soon be drawn—and the military scene, to him, will be closed forever.

ANNAPOLIS, DEC. 23, 1783.

GENERAL *WASHINGTON* having informed Congress of his intention to resign the commission he had the honor to hold in their service, they resolved that it should be done in a public audience; and appointed this day for the interesting scene. At a proper moment, Gen. WASHINGTON appeared, and addressed The President in the following words:—

"*MR. PRESIDENT*,

"THE great events on which my resignation depended, having at length taken place, I have now the honour of offering my sincere congratulations to Congress, and of presenting myself before them to surrender into their hands, the trust committed to me, and to claim the indulgence of retiring from the service of my country.

"HAPPY in the confirmation of our independence and sovereignty, and pleased with the opportunity afforded the United States of becoming a respectable nation, I resign with satisfaction the appointment I accepted with diffidence; a diffidence in my abilities to accomplish so arduous a task, which, however, was superseded by a confidence in the rectitude of our cause, the support of the supreme power of the union, and the patronage of heaven.

" THE successful termination of the war has verified the most sanguine expectations, and my gratitude for the interposition of providence, and the assistance I have received from my countrymen, increases with every review of the momentous contest.

" WHILE I repeat my obligations to the army in general, I should do injustice to my own feelings not to acknowledge, in this place, the peculiar services, and distinguished merits of the persons who have been attached to my person during the war: it was impossible the choice of confidential officers to compose my family should have been more fortunate: permit me, sir, to recommend in particular those who have continued in the service to the present moment, as worthy of the favorable notice and patronage of Congress.

" I consider it as an indispensable duty to close this last solemn act of my official life, by commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, and those who have the superintendence of them, to his holy keeping.

"HAVING now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action; and bidding an affectionate farewel to this august body, under whose orders I have long acted, I here offer my commission, and take my leave of all the employments of public life."

TO WHICH THE PRESIDENT RETURNED THE FOLLOWING ANSWER:

"THE United States in Congress assembled, receive with emotions too affecting for utterance, the solemn resignation of the authorities under which you have led their troops with success, through a perilous and doubtful war.

"CALLED upon by your country to defend its invaded rights, you accepted the sacred charge before it had formed alliances, and whilst it was without friends or a government to support you.

"YOU have conducted the great military contest with wisdom and fortitude, invariably regarding the rights of the civil power through all disasters and changes: you have

by the love and confidence of your fellow citizens enabled them to display their martial genius, and transmit their fame to posterity; you have persevered, till these United States, aided by a magnanimous king and nation, have been enabled, under a just providence, to close the war in freedom, safety and independence; on which happy event we sincerely join you in congratulations.

"HAVING defended the standard of liberty in this new world—having taught a lesson useful to those who inflict, and to those who feel oppression, you retire from the great theatre of action, with the blessing of your fellow citizens, but the glory of your virtues will not terminate with your military command, it will continue to animate remotest ages. We feel with you, our obligations to the army in general, and will particularly charge ourselves with the interest of those confidential officers, who have attended your person to this affecting moment.

"WE join you in commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, beseeching Him to dispose the hearts and minds of its citizens, to improve the opportunity afforded them, of be-

coming a happy and respectable nation; and for you, we address to Him our earnest prayers, that a life so beloved may be fostered with all his care: that your days may be happy as they have been illustrious, and that he will finally give you that reward which this world cannot give."

[NEW-YORK, APRIL 30, 1789.

THIS day the great and illustrious *WASHINGTON*, the favorite son of liberty, and deliverer of his country, entered upon the execution of the office of First Magistrate of the United States of America; to which important station he had been unanimously called by the united voice of the people. The ceremony which took place on this occasion was truly grand and pleasing, and every heart seemed anxious to teſtify the joy it felt on ſo memorable an event. His Excellency was escorted from his house by a troop of light dragoons, and a legion under the command of col. *Lewis*, attended by a committee of the senate and house of representatives, to Federal Hall, where he was formally received by both houses of Congress, assembled in the Senate Chamber; after which he was conducted to the gallery in front of the hall, accompanied by all the members, when the oath, prescribed by the Constitution, was administered to him by the Chancellor of the State, who then ſaid,

LONG LIVE
GEORGE WASHINGTON,
PRESIDENT
OF THE UNITED STATES,

which was answered by an immense concourse of citizens, assembled on the occasion, by the loudest plaudit and acclamation, that love and veneration ever inspired. He then made the following Speech:]

THE PRESIDENT's SPEECH.

FELLOW-CITIZENS OF THE SENATE, AND
OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

AMONG the vicissitudes incident to life, no event could have filled me with greater anxieties than that of which the notification was transmitted by your order, and re-

ceived on the 14th day of the present month. On the one hand, I was summoned by my country, whose voice I can never hear but with veneration and love, from a retreat which I had chosen with the fondest predilection, and, in my flattering hopes, with an immutable decision, as the asylum of my declining years: a retreat which was rendered every day more necessary as well as more dear to me, by the addition of habit to inclination, and of frequent interruptions in my health to the gradual waste committed on it by time. On the other hand, the magnitude and difficulty of the trust to which the voice of my country called me, being sufficient to awaken in the wisest and most experienced of her citizens, a distrustful scrutiny into his qualifications, could not but overwhelm with despondence one, who, inheriting inferiour endowments from nature, and unpractised in the duties of civil administration, ought to be peculiarly conscious of his own deficiencies. In this conflict of emotions, all I dare aver is, that it has been my faithful study to collect my duty from a just appreciation of every circumstance by which it might be affected. All I dare hope is, that if in executing this task I have been too much swayed by

a grateful remembrance of former instances, or by an affectionate sensibility to this transcendent proof of the confidence of my fellow-citizens; and have thence too little consulted my incapacity as well as disinclination for the weighty and untried cares before me; my error will be palliated by the motives which misled me, and its consequences be judged by my country, with some share of the partiality in which they originated.

SUCH being the impressions under which I have, in obedience to the public summons, repaired to the present station, it would be peculiarly improper to omit in this first official act, my fervent supplications to that Almighty Being, who rules over the universe, who presides in the councils of nations, and whose providential aids can supply every human defect, that his benediction may consecrate to the liberties and happiness of the people of the United States, a government instituted by themselves for these essential purposes, and may enable every instrument employed in its administration, to execute with success, the functions allotted to his charge. In tendering this homage to the great author of every public and private good, I assure

myself that it expresses your sentiments not less than my own ; nor those of my fellow-citizens at large, less than either. No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the invisible hand, which conducts the affairs of men, more than the people of the United States. Every step, by which they have advanced to the character of an independent nation, seems to have been distinguished by some token of providential agency. And in the important revolution just accomplished in the system of their united government, the tranquil deliberations and voluntary consent of so many distinct communities, from which the event has resulted, cannot be compared with the means by which most governments have been established, without some return of pious gratitude along with an humble anticipation of the future blessings which the past seem to presage. These reflections, arising out of the present crisis, have forced themselves too strongly on my mind to be suppressed. You will join with me, I trust, in thinking that there are none under the influence of which, the proceedings of a new and free government can more auspiciously commence.

BY the article establishing the executive department, it is made the duty of the president "to recommend to your consideration, such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient." The circumstances under which I now meet you, will acquit me from entering into that subject farther than to refer you to the great constitutional charter under which we are assembled; and which, in defining your powers, designates the objects to which your attention is to be given. It will be more consistent with those circumstances, and far more congenial with the feelings which actuate me, to substitute in place of a recommendation of particular measures, the tribute that is due to the talents, the rectitude, and the patriotism which adorn the characters selected to devise and adopt them. In these honourable qualifications, I behold the surest pledges, that as on one side, no local prejudices or attachments, no separate views nor party animosities, will misdirect the comprehensive and equal eye which ought to watch over this great assemblage of communities and interests: so, on the other, that the foundations of our national policy will be laid in the pure and immutable principles

of private morality; and the pre-eminence of a free government be exemplified by all the attributes which can win the affections of its citizens, and command the respect of the world.

I DWELL on this prospect with every satisfaction which an ardent love for my country can inspire; since there is no truth more thoroughly established, than that there exits in the economy and course of nature, an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness—between duty and advantage, between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy, and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity. Since we ought to be no less persuaded that the propitious smiles of heaven can never be expected on a nation that disregards the eternal rules of order and right, which heaven itself has ordained; and since the preservation of the sacred fire of liberty, and the destiny of the republican model of government, are justly considered as DEEPLY, perhaps as FINALLY staked, on the experiment entrusted to the hands of the American people.

BESIDES the ordinary objects submitted to your care, it will remain with your judgment to decide how far an exercise of the occasional power delegated by the fifth article of the constitution is rendered expedient at the present juncture by the nature of objections which have been urged against the system, or by the degree of inquietude which has given birth to them. Instead of undertaking particular recommendations on this subject, in which I could be guided by no lights derived from official opportunities, I shall again give way to my intire confidence in your discernment and pursuit of the public good: for I assure myself, that whilst you carefully avoid every alteration which might endanger the benefits of an united and effective government, or which ought to await the future lessons of experience; a reverence for the characteristic rights of freemen, and a regard for the public harmony, will sufficiently influence your deliberations on the question, how far the former can be more impregnably fortified, or the latter be safely and advantageously promoted.

TO the preceding observations I have one to add, which will be most properly ad-

dressed to the house of representatives. It concerns myself, and will therefore be as brief as possible. When I was first honoured with a call into the service of my country, then on the eve of an arduous struggle for its liberties, the light in which I contemplated my duty, required that I should renounce every pecuniary compensation. From this resolution I have in no instance departed. And being still under the impressions which produced it, I must decline, as inapplicable to myself, any share in the personal emoluments, which may be indispensably included in a permanent provision for the executive department; and must accordingly pray that the pecuniary estimates for the station in which I am placed, may, during my continuation in it, be limited to such actual expenditures as the public good may be thought to require.

HAVING thus imparted to you my sentiments, as they have been awakened by the occasion which brings us together, I shall take my present leave; but not without resorting once more to the benign parent of the human race, in humble supplication, that since he has been pleased to favour the Amer-

ican people with opportunities for deliberating in perfect tranquility, and dispositions for deciding with unparalleled unanimity on a form of government for the security of their union, and the advancement of their happiness; so his divine blessing may be equally *conspicuous* in the enlarged views, the temperate consultations, and the wise measures on which the success of this government must depend.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

ADDRESS
OF GEORGE WASHINGTON,

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, TO HIS FELLOW CITIZENS, ON DECLINING BEING CONSIDERED A CANDIDATE FOR THEIR FUTURE SUFFRAGES.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS,

THE period for a new election of a Citizen, to administer the executive government of the United States, being not far distant, and the time actually arrived, when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person, who is to be cloathed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those, out of whom a choice is to be made.

I BEG you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken, without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation, which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that, in withdrawing the ten-

der of service which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest; no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness: but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

THE acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped, that it would have been much earlier in my power consistently with motives, which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement, from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons intitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I REJOICE, that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer

renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty, or propriety: and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my service, that in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

THE impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say, that I have with good intentions, contributed towards the organization and administration of the government, the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious, in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself: and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe, that while choice

and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

IN looking forward to the moment, which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country, for the many honours it has conferred upon me; still more for the stedfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to our praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead, amidst appearances sometimes dubious, vicissitudes of fortune, often discouraging in situations, in which not unfrequently want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism—the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans by which they were effected. Pro-

foundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows, that heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence—that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual—that the free constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained—that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue—that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these states, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

HERE, perhaps, I ought to stop. But solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger natural to that solicitude, urge me on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments, which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all-important to the per-

manency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only feel in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

INTERWOVEN as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

THE unity of government which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquility at home, your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But, as it is easy to foresee, that from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress, against which

the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively, (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union, to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity, watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

FOR this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens, by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of AMERICAN, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discrimi-

nations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits and political principles. You have in a common cause, fought and triumphed together; the independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint councils, and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings and successes.

BUT these considerations however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest. Here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

THE *North*, in an unrestrained intercourse with the *South*, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter, great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise, and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The *South* in the same intercourse, benefiting by the agency of the *North*, sees its agriculture grow, and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own chan-

nels the seamen of the *North*, it finds its particular navigation invigorated—and, while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength, to which itself is unequally adapted. The *East* in a like intercourse with the *West*, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications, by land and water, will more and more find a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The *West* derives from the *East* supplies requisite to its growth and comfort; and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the *secure* enjoyment of indispensable *outlets* for its own productions to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interests as *one nation*. Any other tenure by which the *West* can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

WHILE then every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts, greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security, from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and what is of inestimable value, they must derive from union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighbouring countries, not tied together by the same government; which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments and intrigues, would stimulate and imbitter. Hence, likewise, they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which, under any form of government, are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty: in this sense it is, that your union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

THESE considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the UNION as a primary object of a patriotic desire. Is there a doubt, whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? —let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation, in such a case, were criminal. We are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective sub-divisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. It is well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to union, affecting all parts of our country, while experiment shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those, who, in any quarter, may endeavour to weaken its hands.

IN contemplating the causes which may disturb our union, it occurs as matter of serious concern, that any ground should be furnished for characterising parties, by *geographical* discriminations—*Northern* and *Southern*—*Atlantic* and *Western*; whence designing men may endeavour to excite a belief,

that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party, to acquire influence within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart-burnings which spring from these misrepresentations: they tend to render alien to each other, those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection.—The inhabitants of our western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head: they have seen, in the negotiation by the executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the senate, of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at that event, throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propogated among them, of a policy in the general government, and in the atlantic states, unfriendly to their interests, in regard to the Missisippi; they have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with Great-Britain, and that with Spain, which secure to them every thing they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these ad-

vantages on the union by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such they are, who would sever them from their brethren, and connect them with aliens?

TO the efficacy and permanency of your union, a government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances, however strict, between the parts, can be an adequate substitute; they will inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances, in all times, have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a constitution of government better calculated than your former for an intimate union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of your own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation, and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing, within itself, a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence, and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquies-

cence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty.— The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government. But, the constitution which at any time exists, 'till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacred and obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government, pre-supposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

ALL obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real character to direct, controul, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force, to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation, the will of a party, often a small, but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-

concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans, digested by common councils, and modified by mutual interests.

HOWEVER combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men, will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government; destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

TOWARDS the preservation of your government, and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular opposition to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care, the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretexts. One method of assault may be to effect, in the forms of the constitution, alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all

the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of government, as of other human institutions—that experience is the surest standard, by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country—that facility in changes upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion; and remember, especially, that for the efficient management of your common interest, in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty, is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I HAVE already intimated to you, the danger of parties in the state, with particular re-

ference to the founding of them on geographical discrimination. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you, in the most solemn manner, against the baneful effects of the spirit of party, generally.

THIS spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments—more or less stifled, controuled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form, it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

THE alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge, natural to party dissension, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism; but this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism.—The disorders and miseries which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual; and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this

disposition to the purposes of his own elevation, on the ruins of public liberty.

WITHOUT looking forward to an extremity of this kind (which nevertheless ought not to be intirely out of sight) the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party, are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

IT serves always to distract the public councils, and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies, and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another, foments occasionally riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

THERE is an opinion, that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This, within certain limits, is probably true, and in govern-

ments of a monarchial cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favour upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched; it demands uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest, instead of warming, it should consume.

IT is important likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country, should inspire caution in those entrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart, is

sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of the political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern; some of them in our country, and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be, in any particular, wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way, which the constitution designates —but let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed.—The precedent must always greatly overbalance, in permanent evil, any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

OF all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriot-

ism, who would labour to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. —A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice?—And let us with caution indulge the supposition, that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded of the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure; reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

IT is substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule indeed extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who that is a sincere friend to it can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

PROMOTE then as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

AS a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it, is to use it as sparingly as possible; avoiding occasions of expence, by cultivating peace, but remembering also, that timely disbursements, to prepare for dangers, frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it: avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expence, but by vigorous exertions in time of peace to discharge the debts, which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burthen which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives; but it is necessary that public opinion should co-operate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind that towards the payment of debts there must be

revenue; that to have revenue there must be taxes; and none can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment inseparable from the selection of the proper objects (which is always a choice of difficulties) ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

OBSERVE good faith and justice towards all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all—religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be, that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and (at no distant period) a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt that in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be, that providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a na-

tion with virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

IN the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded; and that in the place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity, or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another, disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur.

HENCE frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The

government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts, through passion, what reason would reject; at other times, it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility, instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace, often, sometimes, perhaps, the liberty, of nations has been the victim.

so, likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another, produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favourite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favourite nation, of privileges denied to others, which is apt, doubly, to injure the nation making the concessions; by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained; and by exciting jealousy, ill will, and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld: and it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or de-

luded citizens (who devote themselves to the favourite nation) facility to betray, or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity; gilding with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

AS avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practise the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils; such an attachment of a small or weak, towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

AGAINST the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow citizens) the jealousy of a free people ought to be *constantly* awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican gov-

ernment. But that jealousy to be useful must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defence against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike of another, cause those, whom they actuate, to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favourite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.

THE great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little *political* connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith.—Here let us stop.

EUROPE has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence,

therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships, or enmities.

OUR detached and distant situation, invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off, when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality, we may at any time resolve upon, to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

WHY forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? why quit our own, to stand upon foreign ground? why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humour or caprice?

IT is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances, with any portion of the foreign world; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But, in my opinion, it is unnecessary, and would be unwise to extend them.

TAKING care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, in a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

HARMONY, liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking or granting exclusive favours or preferences—consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying, by gentle means, the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing,

with the powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them; conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view, that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favours from another; that it must pay, with a portion of its independence, for whatever it may accept under that character; that by such acceptance, it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favours, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect, or calculate, upon real favours from nation to nation. It is an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

IN offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish—that they will controul the usual current of the passions, or

prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations: but, if I may even flatter myself, that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occsasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompence for the solicitude for your welfare, by which they have been dictated.

HOW far, in the discharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

IN relation to the still subsisting war in Europe, my proclamation of the 22d April, 1793, is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your representatives, in both houses of Congress, the spirit of that measure has continu-

ally governed me ; uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

AFTER deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case,had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest to take, a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend on me, to maintain it, with moderation.

THE considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occason to detail. I will only observe, that according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

THE duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without any thing more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

THE inducements of interest for observing that conduct, will be best referred to your own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavour to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress without interruption, to that degree of strength and consistency, which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

THOUGH in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error, I am, nevertheless, too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils, to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that, after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service, with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

RELYING on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it, which is so natural to a man who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations, I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat, in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow-citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government—the ever favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labours and dangers.

G. WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES, SEPT. 17, 1796.

GEN. WASHINGTON's LETTER,

ON HIS ACCEPTING THE COMMAND OF THE AMERICAN ARMY IN 1798.

Mount Vernon, July 13, 1798.

DEAR SIR,

I HAD the honour, on the evening of the 11th instant, to receive from the hand of the secretary of war, your favour of the 7th, announcing that you had, with the advice and consent of the senate, appointed me "Lieutenant General and Commander in Chief of all the armies raised, or to be raised, for the service of the United States."

I CANNOT express how greatly affected I am at this new proof of public confidence, and the highly flattering manner in which you have been pleased to make the communication; at the same time, I must not conceal from you my earnest wish, that the choice had fallen upon a man less declined in years, and better qualified to encounter the usual vicissitudes of war.

YOU know, sir, what calculation I had made relative to the probable course of events, on my retiring from office, and the determination I had consoled myself with, of

closing the remnant of my days in my present peaceful abode ; you will, therefore, be at no loss to conceive and appreciate the sensations I must have experienced, to bring my mind to any conclusion, that would pledge me, at so late a period of life, to leave scenes I sincerely love, to enter upon the boundless field of public action, incessant trouble, and high responsibility.

IT was not possible for me to remain ignorant of, or indifferent to, recent transactions.

THE conduct of the Directory of France towards our country ; their insidious hostility to its government ; their various practices to withdraw the affections of the people from it ; the evident tendency of their acts, and those of their agents, to countenance and invigorate opposition ; their disregard of solemn treaties and the laws of nations ; their war upon our defenceless commerce ; their treatment of our ministers of peace, and their demands, amounting to tribute, could not fail to excite in me corresponding sentiments, with those my countrymen have so generally expressed in their affectionate ad-

dresses to you.—Believe me, sir, no one can more cordially approve of the wise and prudent measures of your administration. They ought to inspire universal confidence, and will, no doubt, combined with the state of things, call from Congress such laws and means as will enable you to meet the full force and extent of the crisis.

SATISFIED thereof, that you have sincerely wished and endeavoured to avert war, and exhausted, to the last drop, the cup of reconciliation, we can with pure hearts appeal to heaven for the justice of our cause; and may confidently trust the final result to that kind providencce who has heretofore, and so often, signally favoured the people of these United States.

THINKING in this manner, and feeling how incumbent it is upon every person, of every description, to contribute at all times to his country's welfare, especially in a moment like the present, when every thing we hold dear and sacred is so seriously threatened; I have finally determined to accept the commission of commander in chief of the armies of the United States; with this reserve only,

that I shall not be called into the field until the army is in a situation to require my presence, or it becomes indispensable by the urgency of circumstances.

IN making this reservation, I beg it may be understood, that I do not mean to withhold any assistance to arrange and organize the army, which you think I can afford. I take the liberty also to mention, that I must decline having my acceptance considered as drawing after it any immediate charge upon the public; or that I can receive any emoluments annexed to the appointment, before entering into a situation to incur expence.

THE secretary of war being anxious to return to the seat of government, I have detained him no longer than was necessary to a full communication upon the several points he had in charge.

WITH very great respect and consideration, I have the honour to be, dear sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

G. WASHINGTON.

JOHN ADAMS,
Prefident of the United States.

Appendix.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,

House of Representatives, Dec. 18, 1799.

IMMEDIATELY after the journals were read, General MARSHALL came into the house of representatives, apparently much agitated, and said,

MR. SPEAKER,

INFORMATION has just been received, that our illustrious fellow-citizen, the commander in chief of the American army, and the late president of the United States, is no more. Though this distressing intelligence is not certain, there is too much reason to believe its truth.

AFTER receiving information of a national calamity so heavy, and so afflicting, the house of representatives can be but ill fitted for public business. I move you, therefore, that we adjourn.

The house immediately adjourned.

THURSDAY, DEC. 19.

The following Message was received from THE PRESIDENT *of the United States.*

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

THE letter herewith transmitted will inform you, that it has pleased Divine Providence to remove from this life, our excellent fellow-citizen, GEORGE WASHINGTON, by the purity of his character, and a long series of services to his country, rendered illustrious through the world. It remains for an affectionate and grateful people, in whose hearts he can never die, to pay suitable honour to his memory.

JOHN ADAMS.

" Mount Vernon, Dec. 16, 1799.

" *SIR*,

" IT is with inexpressible grief that I have to announce to you the death of the great and good Gen. WASHINGTON. He died last evening, between 10 and 11 o'clock, after a short illness of about twenty-four hours. His disorder was an inflammatory sore throat, which proceeded from a cold, of which he made but little complaint on Friday. On

Saturday morning about three o'clock, he became ill. Dr. DICK attended him in the morning, and Dr. CRAIK, of Alexandria, and Dr. BROWN, of Port Tobacco, were soon after called in. Every medical assistance was offered, but without the desired effect. His last scene corresponded with the whole tenor of his life. Not a groan, nor a complaint, escaped him, though in extreme distress.—With perfect resignation, and a full possession of his reason, he closed his well-spent life. I have the honor to be, &c.

"*TOBIAS LEAR.*

"*The President of the United States.*"

GEN. MARSHALL, with deep sorrow on his countenance, and in a pathetic tone of voice, thus addressed the house:—

MR. SPEAKER,

THE melancholy event which was yesterday announced with doubt, has been rendered but too certain. Our WASHINGTON is no more!—The hero, the sage, and the patriot of America—the man on whom in times of danger, every eye was turned, and all

hopes were placed, lives now, only in his own great actions, and in the hearts of an affectionate and affected people.

IF, sir, it had not been usual, openly to testify respect for the memory of those whom heaven had selected as its instruments, for dispensing good to man; yet, such has been the uncommon worth, and such the extraordinary incidents which have marked the life of him whose loss we all deplore, that the whole American nation, impelled by the same feelings, would call with one voice for a public manifestation of that sorrow which is so deep and so universal.

MORE than any other individual, and as much as to one individual was possible, has he contributed to found this our wide spreading empire, and to give to the western world its independence and its freedom. Having effected the great object for which he was placed at the head of our armies, we have seen him convert the sword into the plough-share, and voluntarily sink the soldier in the citizen.

WHEN the debility of our federal system had become manifest, and the bonds which connected the parts of this vast continent were dissolving, we had seen him the chief of those patriots who formed for us a constitution, which, by preserving the union, will, I trust, substantiate and perpetuate those blessings our revolution had promised to bestow.

IN obedience to the general voice of his country, calling on him to preside over a great people, we have seen him once more quit the retirement he loved, and in a season more stormy and tempestuous than war itself, with calm and wise determination pursue the interests of the nation, and contribute, more than any other could contribute, to the establishment of that system of policy which will, I trust, yet preserve our peace, our honour, and our independence. Having been twice unanimously chosen the chief magistrate of a free people, we see him, at a time when his re-election with the universal suffrage could not have been doubted, affording the world a rare instance of moderation, by withdrawing from his high station to the peaceful walks of private life.

HOWEVER public confidence may change, and the public affections fluctuate with respect to others, yet, with respect to him, they have, in war and in peace, in public and in private life, been as steady as his own firm mind, and as constant as his own exalted virtues.

LET us then, Mr. Speaker, pay the last tribute of respect and affection to our departed friend. Let the grand council of the nation display those sentiments which the nation feels.

FOR this purpose, I hold in my hand some resolutions which I will take the liberty to offer to the house:

"RESOLVED, that this house will wait on the president of the United States, in condolence of this mournful event:

"RESOLVED, that the speaker's chair be shrouded with black, and that the members and officers of the house wear black during the session:

"RESOLVED, that a committee, in conjunction with one from the senate, be ap-

pointed to consider on the most suitable manner of paying honour to the memory of the man, first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his country :

" RESOLVED, that this house, when it adjourn, do adjourn to Monday."

THESE resolutions were unanimously agreed to. Sixteen members were appointed on the third resolution.

GENERALS MARSHALL and SMITH, having waited on the president to know when he would be ready to receive the house—the president named one o'clock this day. The house accordingly waited on him, when the speaker thus addressed the president :

SIR,

THE house of representatives, penetrated with a sense of the irreparable loss sustained by the nation, by the death of that great and good man, the illustrious and beloved WASHINGTON, wait on you, Sir, to express their condolence on this melancholy and distressing event.

To which the President replied.

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

I RECEIVE with the greatest respect and and affection, the condolence of the house of representatives, on the melancholy and afflicting event in the death of the most illustrious and beloved personage which this country ever produced. I sympathize with you—with the nation, and with good men, through the world, in the irreparable loss sustained by us all.

JOHN ADAMS.

PHILADELPHIA, DEC. 23, 1799.

THE senate of the United States, this day, sent the following letter of condolence to the president, by a committe of its members, to which he returned the annexed answer.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

THE senate of the United States respectfully take leave, sir, to express to you their deep regret for the loss their country sus-

tains in the death of GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON.

THIS event, so distressing to all our fellow citizens, must be peculiarly heavy on you, who have long been associated with him in deeds of patriotism. Permit us, sir, to mingle our tears with yours: on this occasion it is manly to weep. To lose such a man at such a crisis is no common calamity to the world: our country mourns her father. The Almighty disposer of human events has taken from us our greatest benefactor and ornament. It becomes us to submit with reverence to him, who "maketh darkness his pavilion."

WITH patriotic pride we review the life of our WASHINGTON, and compare him with those of other countries who have been pre-eminent in fame. Ancient and modern names are diminished before him. Greatness and guilt have too often been allied; but his fame is whiter than it is brilliant. The destroyers of nations stood abashed at the majesty of his virtues. It reproved the intemperance of their ambition, and darkened the splendour of victory. The scene is closed,

and we are no longer anxious lest misfortune should sully his glory; he has travelled to the end of his journey, and carried with him an increasing weight of glory; he has deposited it safely, where misfortune cannot tarnish it, where malice cannot blast it. Favoured of heaven, he departed without exhibiting the weaknes of humanity; magnanimous in death, the darkness of the grave could not obscure his brightness.

SUCH was the man whom we deplore. Thanks to GOD, his glory is consummated; WASHINGTON yet lives on earth in his spotless example—his spirit is in heaven.

LET his countrymen consecrate the memory of the heroic general, the patriotic statesman, and the virtuous sage: let them teach their children never to forget that the fruits of his labours, and his example, are their inheritance.

PRESIDENT's ANSWER.

GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE,

I RECEIVE with the most respectful and affectionate sentiments, in this impressive

HIS example is now complete, and it will teach wisdom and virtue to magistrates, citizens, and men, not only in the present age, but in future generations, as long as our history shall be read. If a TRAJAN found a PLINY, a MARCUS AURELIUS can never want biographers, eulogists, or historians.

JOHN ADAMS.

IN the house of representatives, General MARSHALL made a report, in part, from the joint committee appointed to consider a suitable mode of commemorating the death of Gen. WASHINGTON.

HE reported the following resolutions:

Resolved by the senate and house of representatives of the United States of America, in congress assembled, that a marble monument be erected, by the United States, in the capitol of the city of WASHINGTON, and that the family of General WASHINGTON be requested to permit his body to be deposited under it, and that the monument be so designed as to commemorate the great events of his military and political life.

And be it further resolved, that there be a funeral procession from Congress hall, to the German Lutheran church, in memory of GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON, on Thursday, the 26th inst. and that an oration be prepared at the request of Congress, to be delivered before both houses on that day; and that the president of the senate, and speaker of the house of representatives, be desired to request one of the members of Congress to prepare and deliver the same.

And be it further resolved, that it be recommended to the people of the United States, to wear crape on their left arm, as mourning, for thirty days.

And be it further resolved, that the president be requested to direct a copy of these resolutions to be transmitted to Mrs. WASHINGTON, assuring her of the profound respect Congress will ever bear to her person and character, of their condolence on the late afflicting dispensation of providence, and entreating her assent to the interment of the remains of General WASHINGTON in the manner expressed in the first resolution.

address, the obliging expressions of your regret, for the loss our country has sustained, in the death of her most esteemed, beloved, and admired citizen.

IN the multitude of my thoughts and recollections on this melancholy event, you will permit me only to say, that I have seen him in the days of adversity, in some of the scenes of his deepest distress and most trying perplexities—I have also attended him in his highest elevation and most prosperous felicity—with uniform admiration of his wisdom, moderation and constancy.

AMONG all our original associates, in that memorable league of the continent in 1774, which first expressed the sovereign will of a free nation in America, he was the only one remaining in the general government. Although, with a constitution more enfeebled than his, at an age when he thought it necessary to prepare for retirement, I feel myself alone, bereaved of my last brother—yet I derive a strong consolation from the unanimous disposition, which appears in all ages and classes, to mingle their sorrows with mine, on this common calamity to the world.

THE life of our WASHINGTON cannot suffer by a comparison with those of other countries, who have been most celebrated and exalted by fame. The attributes and decorations of royalty, could have only served to eclipse the majesty of those virtues which made him, from being a modest citizen, a more resplendent luminary. Misfortune, had he lived, could hereafter have sullied his glory only with these superficial minds, who, believing that characters and actions are marked by success alone, rarely deserve to enjoy it. Malice could never have blasted his honour, and envy made him a singular exception to her universal rule.

FOR himself he had lived enough, to life and to glory for his fellow-citizens; if their prayers could have been answered, he would have been immortal. For me, his departure is at a most unfortunate moment. Trusting, however, in the wise and righteous dominion of providence over the passions of men, and the results of their councils and actions, as well as over their lives, nothing remains for me, but humble resignation.

ment gives birth to strange and momentous changes; when our peaceful quarter of the globe, exempt as it happily has been from any share in the slaughter of the human race, may yet be compelled to abandon her pacific policy, and to risk the doleful casualities of war: what limit is there to the extent of our loss?—none within the reach of my words to express; none which your feelings will not disavow.

THE founder of our federate republic—our bulwark in war, our guide in peace, is no more! oh that this were but questionable! hope, the comforter of the wretched, would pour into our agonizing hearts its balmy dew. But, alas! there is no hope for us; our WASHINGTON is removed forever! possessing the stoutest frame, and purest mind, he had passed nearly to his sixty-eighth year, in the enjoyment of high health, when, habituated by his care of us to neglect himself, a slight cold, disregarded, became inconvenient on Friday, oppressive on Saturday, and, defying every medical interposition, before the morning of Sunday, put an end to the best of men. An end did I say?—his fame survives! bounded only by

the limits of the earth, and by the extent of the human mind. He survives in our hearts, in the growing knowledge of our children, in the affection of the good throughout the world; and when our monuments shall be done away; when nations now existing shall be no more; when even our young and far-spreading empire shall have perished, still will our WASHINGTON's glory unfaded shine, and die not until love of virtue cease on earth, or earth itself sinks into chaos.

HOW, my fellow citizens, shall I single to your grateful hearts his pre-eminent worth! where shall I begin in opening to your view a character throughout sublime? shall I speak of his warlike achievements, all springing from obedience to his country's will—all directed to his country's good?

WILL you go with me to the banks of the Monongahela, to see your youthful WASHINGTON, supporting, in the dismal hour of Indian victory, the ill-fated BRADDOCK, and saving, by his judgment, and by his valour, the remains of a defeated army, pressed by the conquering savage foe? Or, when oppressed America, nobly resolving to risk her

And be it further resolved, that the president be requested to issue a proclamation, notifying to the people throughout the United States, the recommendation contained in the third resolution.

THESE resolutions passed both houses unanimously.

DECEMBER 24.

THIS day, in the house of representatives, the speaker informed the house, that in conformity to the second resolution passed on Monday, Major-General LEE had been appointed, by the president of the senate, and the speaker of the house of representatives, to prepare and deliver the oration in honour of our late illustrious commander in chief, on Thursday next, which appointment he had been pleased to accept.

A MESSAGE was received from the president of the United States, notifying the house that he had agreed to the resolutions passed on Monday, in honour to the memory of GENERAL WASHINGTON, and deposited them among the rolls and records of the United States.

FUNERAL ORATION,

ON THE DEATH OF GENERAL *WASHINGTON*, PRONOUNCED BEFORE BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS, ON THE 26th DECEMBER.

BY MAJOR-GENERAL Henry Lee.

IN obedience to your will, I rise your humble organ, with the hope of executing a part of the system of public mourning which you have bean pleased to adopt, commemorative of the death of the most illustrious and most beloved personage this country has ever produced; and which, while it transmits to posterity your sense of the awful event, faintly represents your knowledge of the consummate excellence you so cordially honour.

DESPARATE indeed is any attempt on earth to meet correspondently this dispensation of heaven; for, while with pious resignation we submit to the will of an all-gracious providence, we can never cease lamenting, in our finite view of omnipotent wisdom, the heart-rending privation for which our nation weeps. When the civilized world shakes to its centre; when every mo-

all in defence of her violated rights, he was elevated by the unanimous voice of Congress to the command of her armies: will you follow him to the high grounds of Boston, where to an undisciplined, courageous, and virtuous yeomanry, his presence gave the stability of system, and infused the invincibility of love of country; or shall I carry you to the painful scenes of Long-Island, York-Island and New-Jersey, when, combating superior and gallant armies, aided by powerful fleets, and led by chiefs high in the roll of fame, he stood the bulwark of our safety; undismayed by disaster; unchanged by change of fortune. Or will you view him in the precarious fields of Trenton, where deep gloom unnerving every arm, reigned triumphant through our thinned, worn down, unaided ranks; himself unmoved.—Dreadful was the night. It was about this time of winter—the storm raged—the Delaware, rolling furiously with floating ice, forbad the approach of man. WASHINGTON, self collected, viewed the tremendous scene—his country called; unappalled by surrounding dangers, he passed to the hostile shore; he fought; he conquered. The morning sun cheered the American world.

Our country rose on the event; and her dauntless chief, pursuing his blow, completed in the lawns of Princeton, what his vast soul had conceived on the shores of Delaware.

THENCE to the strong grounds of Morristown he led his small but gallant band; and through an eventful winter, by the high efforts of his genius, whose matchless force was measurable only by the growth of difficulties, he held in check formidable hostile legions, conducted by a chief experienced in the art of war, and famed for his valour on the ever memorable heights of Abraham, where fell WOLFE, MONTCALM, and since, our much lamented MONTGOMERY—all covered with glory. In this fortunate interval, produced by his masterly conduct, our fathers, ourselves, animated by his resistless example, rallied around our country's standard, and continued to follow her beloved chief through the various and trying scenes to which the destinies of our union led.

WHO is there that has forgotten the vales of Brandywine—the fields of Germantown —or the plains of Monmouth? every where present, wants of every kind obstructing,

numerous and valiant armies encountering, himself a host, he assuaged our sufferings, limited our privations, and upheld our tottering republic. Shall I display to you the spread of the fire of his soul, by rehearsing the praises of the hero of Saratoga, and his much loved compeer of the Carolinas? no; our WASHINGTON wears not borrowed glory: to GATES—to GREENE, he gave without reserve the applause due to their eminent merit; and long may the chiefs of Saratoga, and of Eutaws, receive the grateful respect of a grateful people.

MOVING in his own orbit, he imparted heat and light to his most distant satellites; and combining the physical and moral force of all within his sphere, with irresistible weight he took his course, commiserating folly, disdaining vice, dismaying treason, and checking despondency; until the auspicious hour arrived, when, united with the intrepid forces of a potent and magnanimous ally, he brought to submission the since conqueror of India; thus finishing his long career of military glory with a lustre corresponding to his great name, and in this his

last act of war, affixing the seal of fate to our nation's birth.

TO the horrid din of battle sweet peace succeeded; and our virtuous chief, mindful only of the common good, in a moment tempting personal aggrandizement, hushed the discontents of growing sedition; and, surrendering his power into the hands from which he had received it, converted his sword into a ploughshare, teaching an admiring world that to be truly great, you must be truly good.

WAS I to stop here, the picture would be incomplete, and the task imposed unfinished. Great as was our WASHINGTON in war, and as much as did that greatness contribute to produce the American republic, it is not in war alone his pre-eminence stands conspicuous: his various talents combining all the capacities of a statesman with those of a soldier, fitted him alike to guide the councils and the armies of our nation. Scarcely had he rested from his martial toils, while his invaluable parental advice was still sounding in our ears, when he who had been our shield and our sword, was called forth to

act a less splendid but more important part.

POSSESSING a clear and penetrating mind, a strong and sound judgment, calmness and temper for deliberation, with invincible firmness and perseverance in resolutions maturely formed, drawing information from all, acting from himself, with incorruptible integrity and unvarying patriotism: his own superiority and the public confidence alike marked him as the man designed by heaven to lead in the great political, as well as military events, which have distinguished the era of his life.

THE finger of an over-ruling providence, pointing at WASHINGTON, was neither mistaken nor unobserved; when, to realize the vast hopes to which our revolution had given birth, a change of political system became indispensable.

HOW novel, how grand the spectacle! independent states stretched over an immense territory, and known only by common difficulty, clinging to their union as the rock of their safety, deciding by frank comparison of their relative condition, to rear on that

rock, under the guidance of reason, a common government through whose commanding protection, liberty aud order, with their long train of blessings, should be safe to themselves, and the sure inheritance of their posterity.

THIS arduous task devolved on citizens selected by the people, from knowledge of their wisdom, and confidence in their virtue. In this august assembly of sages and of patriots, WASHINGTON of course was found; and, as if acknowledged to be most wise, where all were wise, with one voice he was declared their chief. How well he merited this rare distinction, how faithful were the labours of himself and his compatriots, the work of their hands, and our union, strength and prosperity, the fruits of that work, best attest.

BUT to have essentially aided in presenting to his country this consummation of her hopes, neither satisfied the claims of his fellow-citizens on his talents, nor those duties which the possession of those talents imposed. Heaven had not infused into his mind such an uncommon share of its ethe-

rial spirit to remain unemployed, nor bestowed on him his genius unaccompanied with the corresponding duty of devoting it to the common good. To have framed a constitution, was shewing only, without realizing, the general happiness. This great work remained to be done; and America, stedfast in her preference, with one voice summoned her beloved WASHINGTON, unpractised as he was in the duties of civil administration, to execute this last act in the completion of the national felicity. Obedient to her call, he assumed the high office with that self-distrust peculiar to his innate modesty, the constant attendant of pre-eminent virtue. What was the burst of joy through our anxious land on this exhilerating event is known to us all. The aged, the young, the brave, the fair, rivalled each other in demonstrations of their gratitude; and this high wrought, delightful scene, was heightened in its effect, by the singular contest between the zeal of the bestowers and the avoidance of the receiver of the honors bestowed. Commencing his administration, what heart is not charmed with the recollection of the pure and wise principles announced by himself, as the basis of his political life. He best un-

derstood the indissoluble union between virtue and happiness, between duty and advantage, between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy, and the solid rewards of public prosperity and individual felicity; watching with an equal and comprehensive eye over this great assemblage of communities and interests, he laid the foundations of our national policy in the unerring, immutable principles of morality, based on religion, exemplifying the pre-eminence of a free government, by all the attributes which win the affections of its citizens, or command the respect of the world.

"O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint!"

LEADING through the complicated difficulties produced by previous obligations and conflicting interests, seconded by succeeding houses of congress, enlightened and patriotic, he surmounted all original obstruction, and brightened the path of our national felicity.

THE presidential term expiring, his solicitude to exchange exaltation for humility, returned with a force, increased with increase of age; and he had prepared his farewell address to his countrymen, proclaiming his intention, when the united interposi-

tion of all around him, enforced by the eventful prospects of the epoch, produced a further sacrifice of inclination to duty. The election of president followed, and WASHINGTON, by the unanimous vote of the nation, was called to resume the chief magistracy. What a wonderful fixture of confidence! Which attracts most our admiration, a people so correct, or a citizen combining an assemblage of talents forbidding rivalry, and stifling even envy itself? Such a nation ought to be happy, such a chief must be forever revered.

WAR, long menaced by the Indian tribes, now broke out; and the terrible conflict, deluging Europe with blood, began to shed its baneful influence over our happy land. To the first, outstretching his invincible arm, under the orders of the gallant WAYNE, the American Eagle soared triumphant through distant forests. Peace followed victory; and the melioration of the condition of the enemy, followed peace. Godlike virtue, which uplifts even the subdued savage.

TO the second he opposed himself. New and delicate was the conjuncture, and great was the stake. Soon did his penetrating

mind discern and seize the only course, continuing to us all the felicity enjoyed. He issued his proclamation of neutrality. This index to his whole subsequent conduct, was sanctioned by the approbation of both houses of Congress, and by the approving voice of the people.

TO this sublime policy he inviolably adhered, unmoved by foreign intrusion, unshaken by domestic turbulence.

> "Justum et tenacem propositi virum,
> Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
> Non vultus instantis tyranni,
> Mente quatit solida."

MAINTAINING his pacific system at the expense of no duty, America, faithful to herself, and unstained in her honour, continued to enjoy the delights of peace, while afflicted Europe mourns in every quarter under the accumulated miseries of an unexampled war; miseries in which our happy country must have shared, had not our pre-eminent WASHINGTON been as firm in council as he was brave in the field.

PURSUING stedfastly his course, he held safe the public happiness, preventing foreign war, and quelling internal discord, till the

revolving period of a third election approached, when he executed his interrupted, but inextinguishable desire, of returning to the humble walks of private life.

THE promulgation of his fixed resolution, stopped the anxious wishes of an affectionate people, from adding a third unanimous testimonial of their unabated confidence in the man so long enthroned in their hearts. When before was affection like this exhibited on earth ?—turn over the records of ancient Greece—review the annals of mighty Rome —examine the volumes of modern Europe ; you search in vain. AMERICA and her WASHINGTON only afford the dignified exemplification.

THE illustrious personage called by the national voice in succession to the arduous office of guiding a free people, had new difficulties to encounter : The amicable effort of settling our difficulties with France, begun by WASHINGTON, and pursued by his successor in virtue as in station, proving abortive, America took measures of self-defence. No sooner was the public mind roused by a prospect of danger, than every eye was turn-

ed to the friend of all, though ſecluded from public view, and grey in public ſervice. The virtuous veteran, following his plough, received the unexpected ſummons with mingled emotions of indignation at the unmerited ill-treatment of his country, and of a determination once more to risk his all in her defence.

THE annunciation of these feelings, in his affecting letter to the president, accepting the command of the army, concludes his official conduct.

FIRST in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen, he was second to none in the humble and endearing ſcenes of private life: pious, juſt, humane, temperate, and ſincere; uniform, dignified, and commanding, his example was as edifying to all around him as were the effects of that example lasting.

TO his equals he was condeſcending; to his inferiors kind; and to the dear object of his affections exemplarily tender; correct throughout, vice ſhuddered in his preſence, and virtue always felt his foſtering hand;

the purity of his private character gave effulgence to his public virtues.

HIS last scene comported with the whole tenor of his life: although in extreme pain, not a sigh, not a groan escaped him; and with undisturbed serenity he closed his well spent life. Such was the man America has lost! such was the man for whom our nation mourns!

METHINKS I see his august image, and hear, falling from his venerable lips, these deep sinking words:

"CEASE, SONS of AMERICA, lamenting our separation: go on, and confirm by your wisdom the fruits of our joint councils, joint efforts, and common dangers. Reverence religion; diffuse knowledge throughout your land; patronize the arts and sciences; let liberty and order be inseparable companions; controul party spirit, the bane of free government; observe good faith to, and cultivate peace with all nations; shut up every avenue to foreign influence; contract rather than extend national connexions; rely on yourselves only—be American in thought and deed. Thus will you give immortality

to that union, which was the constant object of my terrestrial labours: thus will you preserve undisturbed to the latest posterity, the felicity of a people to me most dear; and thus will you supply (if my happiness is now aught to you) the only vacancy in the round of pure bliss high heaven bestows."

A PROCLAMATION.

BY THE *PRESIDENT* OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

WHEREAS the Congress of the United States have this day resolved, "That it be recommended to the people of the United States to assemble on the twenty-second day of February next, in such numbers and manner as may be convenient, publicly to testify their grief for the death of Gen. GEORGE WASHINGTON, by suitable eulogies, orations and discourses, or by public prayers:" and, "That the President be requested to issue a proclamation for the purpose of carrying the foregoing resolution into effect." NOW, THEREFORE, I, JOHN ADAMS, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the same accordingly.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of the United States, at Philadelphia, the sixth day of January, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred, and of the independence of the said states the twenty fourth.

JOHN ADAMS.

By the President,
TIMOTHY PICKERING, Secretary of State.

Alexandria, (Virg.) December 21, 1799.

PARTICULAR ACCOUNT OF THE LATE ILLNESS AND DEATH OF *GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

SOME time in the night of Friday, the 10th instant, having been exposed to a rain on the preceding day, General WASHINGTON was attacked with an inflammatory affection of the upper part of the wind pipe, called in technical language *Cynache Trachealis*. The disease commenced with a violent ague, accompanied with some pain in the upper and fore part of the throat, a sense of stricture in the same part, a cough, and a difficult, rather than a painful deglutition, which were soon succeeded by fever and a quick and laborious respiration. The necessity of bloodletting suggesting itself to the General, he procured a bleeder in the neighbourhood, who took from his arm in the night twelve or fourteen ounces of blood. He could not by any means be prevailed on by the family to send for the attending physician till the following morning, who arrived at Mount Vernon at about 11 o'clock on Saturday. Discovering the case to be highly alarming, and foreseeing the fatal tendency of the dis-

ease, two consulting physicians were immediately sent for, who arrived, one at half after three, and the other at four o'clock in the afternoon : in the mean time were employed two pretty copious bleedings, a blister was applied to the part affected, two moderate doses of calomel were given, and an injection was administered, which operated on the lower intestines, but all without any perceptible advantage, the respiration becoming still more difficult and distressing. Upon the arrival of the first of the consulting physicians, it was agreed, as there were yet no signs of accumulation in the bronchial vessels of the lungs, to try the result of another bleeding, when about thirty-two ounces of blood were drawn, without the smallest apparent alleviation of the disease. Vapours of vinegar and water were frequently inhaled, ten grains of calomel were given, succeeded by repeated doses of emetic tartar, amounting in all to five or six grains, with no other effect than a copious discharge from the bowels. The powers of life seemed now manifestly yielding to the force of the disorder; blisters were applied to the extremities, together with a cataplasm of bran and vinegar

to the throat. Speaking, which was painful from the beginning, now became almost impracticable; respiration grew more and more contracted and imperfect, till half after 11 on Saturday night, retaining the full possession of his intellect—when he expired without a struggle.

HE was fully impressed at the beginning of his complaint, as well as through every succeeding stage of it, that its conclusion would be mortal; submitting to the several exertions made for his recovery, rather as a duty, than from any expectation of their efficacy. He considered the operations of death upon his system as coeval with the disease; and several hours before his death, after repeated efforts to be understood, succeeded in expressing a desire that he might be permitted to die without further interruption.

DURING the short period of his illness, he economized his time, in the arrangement of such few concerns as required his attention, with the utmost serenity; and anticipated his approaching dissolution with every demonstration of that equanimity for which his

whole life has been so uniformly and singularly conspicuous.

JAMES CRAIK, *Attending Physician.*
ELISHA C. DICK, *Consulting Physician.*

WASHINGTON's FUNERAL.

Extract of a letter from a correspondent in Alexandria, dated Dec. 19, 1799.

"YESTERDAY I attended the Funeral of the saviour of our country at Mount Vernon; and had the honour of being one who carried his body to the vault. He was borne by military gentlemen, and brethren of our lodge, of which he was formerly master. I inclose you a sketch of the procession. To describe the scene is impossible. The coffin bore his sword and apron; and the members of the lodge walked as mourners. His horse was led, properly caparisoned, by two of his servants, in mourning.

"AS I helped place his body in the vault, and stood at the door while funeral service was performing, I had the best opportunity of observing the countenances of all. Every

one was affected, but none so much as his domestics of all ages."

INTERMENT.

Georgetown, December 20, 1799.

ON Wednesday last, the mortal part of WASHINGTON the great—the father of his country and the friend of man, was consigned to the tomb, with solemn honours and funeral pomp.

A MULTITUDE of persons assembled, from many miles around, at Mount Vernon, the choice abode and last residence of the illustrious chief. There were the groves, the spacious avenues, the beautiful and sublime scenes, the noble mansion; but, alas! the august inhabitant was now no more. That great soul was gone. His mortal part was there indeed; but ah! how affecting! how awful the spectacle of such worth and greatness, thus, to mortal eyes, fallen: yes! fallen! fallen!

IN the long and lofty portico, where oft the hero walked in all his glory, now lay the

shrouded corpse. The countenance still composed and serene, seemed to express the dignity of the spirit which lately dwelt in that lifeless form. There those who paid the last sad honours to the benefactor of his country, took an impressive, a farewel view.

ON the ornament, at the head of the coffin, was inscribed SURGE AD JUDICIUM; about the middle of the coffin, GLORIA DEO; and on the silver plate,

GENERAL

George Washington,

DEPARTED THIS LIFE, ON THE 14th DEC. 1799,

Æt. 68.

BETWEEN three and four o'clock, the sound of artillery from a vessel in the river, firing minute guns, awoke afresh our solemn sorrow; the corpse was moved; a band of music with mournful melody, melted the soul into all the tenderness of woe.

THE procession was formed and moved on in the following order:

Cavalry, Infantry, } with arms reversed. { Guard,

Music,

Clergy,

THE general's horse, with his saddle, holsters, and pistols.

Col. SIMMS, *Col.* GILPIN,

Col. RAMSAY, *Col.* MARSTELLER,

Col. PAYNE, *Col.* LITTLE,

Mourners,

Masonic Brethren,

Citizens.

WHEN the procession had arrived at the bottom of the elevated lawn, on the banks of the Potomac, where the family vault is placed, the cavalry halted, the infantry marched towards the Mount and formed the inlines; the clergy, the masonic brothers, and the citizens, descended to the vault, and the funeral service of the church was performed. The firing was repeated from the vessel in the river, and the sounds echoed from the woods and hills around.

THREE general discharges by the infantry, the cavalry, and eleven pieces of artillery, which lined the banks of the Potomac back of the vault, paid the last tribute to the entombed commander in chief of the armies of the United States, and to the venerable departed hero.

THE sun was now setting. Alas! the SUN OF GLORY was set forever. No—the name of WASHINGTON, the American President and General will triumph over death; the unclouded brightness of his glory will illuminate future ages.

PRESIDENT's MESSAGE.

MR. SHAW, secretary to the president, communicated the following message:

Gentlemen of the Senate, and
Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

IN compliance with the request in one of the resolutions of Congress of the 21st of December last, I transmitted a copy of those resolutions by my secretary, Mr. SHAW, to Mrs. WASHINGTON, assuring her of the profound respect Congress will ever bear to her

person and character; of their condolence in the late afflicting dispensation of providence, and intreating her assent to the interment of the remains of General GEORGE WASHINGTON, in the manner expressed in the first resolution. As the sentiments of that virtuous lady, not less beloved by this nation than she is at present greatly afflicted, can never be so well expressed as in her own words; I transmit to Congress her original letter.

IT would be an attempt of too much delicacy, to make any comments upon it; but there can be no doubt, that the nation at large, as well as all the branches of the government, will be highly gratified by any arrangement which may diminish the sacrifice she makes of her individual feelings.

JOHN ADAMS.

United States, Jan. 8, 1800.

MRS. WASHINGTON's LETTER.

Mount Vernon, Dec. 31, 1799.

SIR,

WHILE I feel with keenest anguish, the late dispensation of Divine Providence, I

cannot be insensible to the mournful tributes of respect and veneration, which are paid to the memory of my dear deceased husband; and, as his best services and most anxious wishes, were always devoted to the welfare and happiness of his country, to know that they were truly appreciated, and gratefully remembered, affords no inconsiderable consolation.

TAUGHT by the great example, which I have so long had before me, never to oppose my private wishes to the public will, I must consent to the request made by congress, which you have had the goodness to transmit me, and in doing this, I need not, I cannot say, what a sacrifice of individual feeling I make to a sense of public duty.

WITH grateful acknowledgment and unfeigned thanks for the personal respect, and evidences of condolence, expressed by Congress and yourself, I remain very respectfully, sir, your most obedient and humble servant,

MARTHA WASHINGTON.

The President of the United States.

BIOGRAPHICAL OUTLINE

OF

General George Washington.

BY J. M. WILLIAMS.

WHEN a man of so much importance, and an object of such general estimation, as the illustrious character under consideration, is removed from the busy theatre of life, a more than ordinary curiosity is excited, to know in what manner he exercised his being, and by what degrees he rose to an elevation so renowned and so glorious.

THE late GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON, was born in Virginia, in the parish of Washington, in Westmoreland county, on the 22d day of February, 1732 : his father, Mr. *Augustine Washington*, was the owner of an ample estate, comprehending a large plantation and a farm, in Virginia, and a gentleman of enviable endowments and much respectability. The ancestors of this valued

man arrived in that part of America, from the county of York, in Great-Britain, in the year 1657, and established a settlement in King George's county. During the first movement of the revolutionary war, the late General WASHINGTON had three brothers and one sister living, viz. *Samuel*, *John*, and *Charles*, each of whom had estates of consequence—the lady was married to Colonel *Fielding Lewis*.

THE general's father married twice, and our political saviour was the first issue of the second marriage; his education was conducted under the superintendence of his father, who had his boy trained up in those exercises and feats of activity and hardihood, as steeled his young nerves and fitted him for the purposes of an enterprising life: by this judicious proceeding, he was rendered muscular and healthful, and, as the mind is greatly dependent on the body, his intellect became sound, and his apprehension lively. His hours of study were guided by a private tutor, who infused that correct taste for composition, which he has so charmingly exemplified in his correspondence and official papers; and those sentiments of morality, which

made his philosophy amiable and his practice noble.

THE prominent course of his tuition involved the theory of the Latin language, the problems of Euclid, and the prosody of his vernacular tongue. His father died when he was a boy, and he fell under the guardianship of his elder brother, Mr. *Lawrence Washington.*—When admiral *Vernon* was employed in the reduction of Carthagena, this gentleman accompanied the expedition, and had the command of a company in the colonial troops; at the termination of that exploit, he returned and married the daughter of the Hon. *William Fairfax*, of Bellevoir. He took his lady to the family seat, which he civilly denominated *Mount Vernon*, in remembrance and in honour of the gallant admiral, who had expressed a predilection for the talents and spirit of the young American. This gentleman was created adjutant general of the Virginia militia, and died soon after the appointment. The daughter of this gentleman, and his second brother, being deceased, General WASHINGTON succeeded to the family patrimony, and sat down as the legitimate lord of an extensive and rich domain.

WHEN no more than fifteen years of age, he was enrolled as a midshipman in the British service, but his destiny had ordered it otherwise; his mother entered her protest against the proceeding, and the idea was abandoned.

BEFORE he was a complete adult, and while under twenty, he obtained the rank of major in a Virginian battalion, the original office of adjutant general, as filled by his deceased brother, being trisected in authority and given to three several districts, as the province had increased in population equal to a justification of the division.

SHORTLY after this military induction, an event happened, which, in its progress, called into action those eminent powers for negotiation and politic address, which have been so conspicuously exerted since, in the defence of his country's immunities, and the arrangement of her full and equal laws.

IN 1753 the French, from the Canadas, suborned some Indian tribes to assist them in plundering the western frontiers, in the neighbourhood of the Alleghany and Ohio rivers. The imperial country hearing of the

aggression, instructed the governor and council of the Virginia province to repel the invasion by force: they, notwithstanding, believed it as the more prudent step to attempt an explanation with the French and Indians, and thereby prevent the effusion of human blood. It was resolved, on mature deliberation, to depute Major WASHINGTON on this arduous and critical embassy. He conveyed a letter to the commander in chief of the enemy's forces, explanatory of the violation, and made some friendly overtures to the six nations and their allies, to induce them to become attached to the British interest: he began his journey in the earlier part of the winter, accompanied by a few persons, and after traversing immense forests and pathless deserts, he happily arrived at the quarters of Monsieur *de St. Pierre*, to whom he communicated the nature and letter of his mission, and the interview was conducted on his part with so much precaution, temper, and firmness, that it was ultimately successful. His management of the Indians was not less propitious.—For this momentous service, he received the warm approval of lieutenant governor *Dinwiddie* in particular,

and his country in general. He kept a diary or journal during this novel progress, which has been since published to the world, and proved entertaining and instructive, but more especially to those who have travelled into those remote parts of the continent. It was in this publication that he first manifested that love of method, force of reasoning, and constancy to a resolution comprehensively founded, which have since so characterised him in arranging the elements of order, and establishing the liberties of his nation.

ALTHOUGH Major WASHINGTON had perfected the object of his embassy, so far as a written stipulation could bind, it was soon discovered that the enemy was not faithful to his word and bond of honour, as the warlike movements on the western frontier plainly evinced. In this distressing time, an order arrived from Britain to embody the troops of the colonies for their common defence: the state of Virginia was the first in obedience to this command, and in the year 1754, raised an appropriate sum of money and a regiment of 400 men, to assemble on the frontiers of their colony. Mr. *Fry*, a pro-

fessor in the College of William and Mary, had the command of this corps, and Major WASHINGTON, at the age of twenty three, was nominated Lieutenant Colonel. The commander dying before the regiment was perfected, his rank and power devolved on the subject of this memoir.

COLONEL WASHINGTON thus invested, redoubled his diligence in exercising his men, fixing magazines, and opening roads: it was his hope to have established a military post at the junction of the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers, a measure of precaution which he had warmly recommended to the council the preceding year. To this important spot (now called Pittsburg) he directed his march in May, without waiting for reinforcements, either regular or provincial, so great was his eagerness to fortify that station.

IN his progress he encountered a considerable party of French and Indians, at a place called Redstone: he instantly charged and routed them, making prisoners and destroying fifty, among the captives was Monsieur *De La Force*, and two other officers. Colonel WASHINGTON then understood the perils of

his situation, as these gentlemen informed him that the French had 1000 regular troops on the Ohio and a numerous party of savages; and what was more immediately distressing, that they had pre-occupied the post at the confluence of the rivers, and had named it fort *Du Quesne*.

IN this dilemma, he took his stand at a spot called Great Meadows, to procure forage, and erected a stockade for his stores, which he called *Fort Necessity*. He waited the arrival of succours from the neighbouring colonies, but was only strengthened by Captain *Mackay*'s regulars, which made his force, in the aggregate, but 400 efficient men. The enemy lay dormant until July, when he understood that a strong reconnoitring party was approaching rapidly: he was prompt in his decision on the aspect of danger; he sallied out with his little army and defeated his foe; but this vigorous effort for his security was ineffectual, as shortly after, a large detachment of French and Indians, to the amount of 1500 men, under the command of the *Sieur de Villiers*, attacked him in his temporary fortification—the assailed made a firm resistance, and killed 200 of the enemy,

but lost, in killed or wounded, many of their gallant comrades. This determined opposition so discomfited the French leader, that a parley was offered on his part and accepted, and an honourable capitulation was the consequence. The diminutive garrison marched out, with the honours of war, and their commander at their head, with baggage and military stores: the provincial soldiers were plundered and massacreed, during their retreat, by the savages; after this discomfiture, the skeleton of the Virginian regiment returned to Alexandria, to re-fill their ranks and repose after their disasters.

WHEN the British ambassador remonstrated at the court of Versailles, on the infraction of the articles of capitulation, it was perceived that the French officers in America had acted agreeable to their instructions; the real views of the christian king, in respect to the colonies in America, then under British subjugation, were now developed; and after this disclosure, the French became more active in their hostile preparations, which were pursued without remission through the winter of 1754, and the spring of 1755.

THE government of Virginia did not remain regardless of the machinations and aggressions of the French. They erected forts Cumberland and Loudon, and ordered a camp at Wills Creek, from which situation they could harrass their enemies on the Ohio. In the furtherance of these designs, Colonel WASHINGTON was highly useful, and his services were acknowledged in terms of respect and approval.

IT was at this period when the ill-fated General *Braddock* arrived in America from Britain: he landed at Alexandria, with two old regiments from Ireland, and to these were to be united the different corps in America, including the independent and provincial bodies; at the head of this combined force he was to crush the bold and cruel invaders of our frontiers. On this occasion the the evils of etiquette were permitted to annull the recommendations of virtue; a royal definition of rank had prevailed, which ridiculously signified, that no officer who had not derived his commission *immediately* from his majesty, could command one who had been blessed with that honour. When this distinction was understood, Colonel WASH-

INGTON resigned his commission, but he did not suffer his disgust, arising from the forms and fopperies of a court, to supercede the regards he bore towards his country: he entered the army as a volunteer, and condescended to serve as an extra aid de camp to General *Braddock*. The army marched by Wills Creek for fort Du Quesne, and in this route Colonel WASHINGTON'S counsel would have proved the salvation of the army, had it been duly taken and followed; as no person, in the colony, was so thoroughly acquainted with the advantages and disadvantages connected with the various stations in this march, as himself; but on this event, as in others, the presumption of arrogance involved the destruction of its own agency. General *Braddock* disdained to be instructed by a provincial officer, and he perished in his folly: in the course of the march he met, unexpectedly and without adequate preparation, a large body of the foe, when a bloody conflict instantly ensued, which ended in the defeat of *Braddock's* army, which consisted of 2000 regulars and 800 provincials: the slaughter of the British troops was great, and their extermination would have occurred, had not the intrepid and discreet WASH-

INGTON, aided by his colonial adherents, covered their retreat, which they effected in the utmost confusion and dismay; when Col. WASHINGTON had conducted them safely over the ford of the Monongahela, and the enemy ceasing to pursue their career, he thought it expedient to consult with Col. *Dunbar*, who was left in the rear with the second division of the army and the baggage: in pursuance of this idea, he was constrained to travel all night, on horseback, through a gloomy and untrodden forest, and was so exhausted on his arrival, by such a variety of fatigue, that he was supported by pillows. It may not be unnecessary to remark that he was the only officer, who was mounted during the battle, that was not killed or wounded. The European accounts of this memorable and calamitous affair, were not unmixed with abundant praises on his skill, his perseverance and gallantry.

SHORTLY after this overthrow, the arrangement of rank, so injuriously unpleasant to the colonial officers, was altered, and the government of Virginia, bestowed on Colonel WASHINGTON, the command of all the troops raised, and to be raised, in the colony:

he maintained this commission with honour, until 1759, when the restoration of tranquility on the frontiers took place, and he resigned his command: he was additionally induced to this resignation, by the personal inconveniences of a pulmonary disease, the probable enfeebling effect of a life of thought, hazard, toil and inconvenience. The officers and private soldiers, which formed the Virginia line, would not permit their beloved commander to retire without following him to his retreat, with an unanimous testimonial of their veneration of his character, and their regret at his resolution: he received this token of their unaffected regard, with manly tenderness, and even increased their love towards him, by proving himself so uniformly worthy of its fulness.

HE had not receded long from the bustle and horrors of a campaign, and the customs of a soldier's duty, before his health was happily increased: it was at this epoch that he married Mrs. *Martha Custis*, a young and beautiful widow, "with whom he had a fortune of twenty thousand pounds sterling in her own right, besides her dower in one of the principal estates in Virginia;"

on the consummation of this union, Colonel WASHINGTON and his lady, equal in years, suavity, and virtue, settled at Mount Vernon.

IN this scene of domestic felicity, he commenced planter and farmer, and managed his agricultural concerns so discreetly and prosperously, that he has been held forth as an example deserving universal imitation.—Colonel WASHINGTON was one of the greatest landholders in North America: his estate at Mount Vernon was computed, in 1787, to consist of nine thousand acres, under his own management and cultivation; he had likewise various large tracts of land in other parts of the state; his annual receipt from his estates, amounted, in 1776, to *four thousand pounds sterling*, and it was then believed would have sold for upwards of *one hundred and sixty thousand pounds sterling*, which is equal to more than 666,000 dollars. What his revenue was recently we do not know, but their can be little presumption in supposing that it was much increased, under his prudential guidance and practical economy.

HE allotted a part of the Saturday, in each week, to receive the reports of his overseers, which were registered progressively, to enable him to compare the labour with the produce of each particular part; and, it is affirmed, that this weekly retrospect, was duly considered by this great man, during the stormy movements of the revolutionary war, and his presidency of the United States.—He has raised, in one year, seven thousand bushels of wheat, and ten thousand bushels of Indian corn, on his Mount Vernon estate: in a succeeding year he raised two hundred lambs, sowed twenty seven bushels of flax-seed, and planted seven hundred bushels of potatoes; at the same time his domestics manufactured linen and woollen cloth enough for his numerous household, which amounted to nearly a thousand persons: with him, regularity and industry was the order of each day, and the consequent reflection made them all happy.

THOUGH agriculture was pursued by him with such undeviating attention, he used it rather as the means of his pleasure than the end of his wishes; which concentrated in the labour to improve the well being of his fel-

low citizens, and to effect this he desisted from planting tobacco, to employ himself in the introduction and fostering such articles of vegetation, as might ultimately tend to a national advantage.—The first passion of his heart was the love of his country, and the tone of that high and inspiriting impulse was never broken: it was equally visible and predominant in the senate and the field; it was mingled in the energies of his occupation, and it pervaded the vision in his dream.

THE excellence and usefulness of General WASHINGTON, was always apparent, and his seeming more brilliant and dignified at one period than another, did not arise from any alteration of his principle, but the splendour of the service. From the year 1759, to the year 1774, he was a member of assembly, a magistrate of the county in which he resided, and a judge of the court, and in each capacity he was as able, as assiduous, and as incorrupt, as in any of his more exalted offices. He was elected a delegate to the first congress in 1774, and to that which associated in the ensuing year.

ON the 15th of June, 1775, he had the supreme honour to be unanimously appointed, by this immortal assembly of sages and patriots, commander in chief of all the forces raised, or to be raised, for the resistance of oppression and the maintenance of their colonial privileges. He accepted the appointment with gratitude and apprehension; the manner with which he tinctured his zeal for the public good, with doubts of his own personal sufficiency, was illustrative of human greatness: the disinterested tenor of his reply to the president on his nomination, was equally endearing as his modesty, and should be held in eternal admiration.

IT was a circumstance very fortunate for the existence of human liberty, that this nomination, by the council of the states, should be unattended with the customary emotions of personal envy, and commonly approved by the people: he had become proverbial for his honour, moderation and bravery, and was conspicuous for his caution: and with these powerful recommendations in his behalf, he was not only invested with confidence, but followed with joy.

GENERAL WASHINGTON arrived at the camp at Cambridge, on July 2d, 1776, and took the command of the American army: he was saluted on his arrival with every mark of satisfaction; the troops expressed their exultation on beholding their leader, who began the necessary work of organization and discipline; without which, an army degenerates into a mob, and is rather an incumbrance than a bulwark.

IT is not precisely within our province, nor is it in our capability to pursue him through the mazes of the different actions in which he was engaged, nor to detail those "hair breadth 'scapes" with which his progress was chequered; there were times when the destruction of his band of heroes seemed inevitable, and the most sanguine lover of his country began to despond—but the singular penetration of General WASHINGTON enabled him to elude the imminent dangers, and disconcert the operations of the ablest generals of Britain: yet, notwithstanding these instances of preservation, he felt much uneasiness and mortification from the smallness of his force, contending against a host of veterans, perfect in dis-

cipline and high in spirit. Perhaps few troops have contended with a longer series of disasters, than those disciples of liberty, in their struggle to uphold the primary immunities of man.

TWO base and treacherous attempts were discovered, about this time; one was directed against the life of General WASHINGTON, and the other against his reputation: Governor *Tryon* had suborned the then mayor of Newyork, to assist the royal forces on their arrival in that city, and General WASHINGTON was to be assassinated: this detestable design was rendered abortive by apprehending *Thomas Hickey*, one of General WASHINGTON's life-guard men, who was engaged in the conspiracy, and had engaged others; this false miscreant was tried by a court martial on the 28th of June, found guilty, and was executed at eleven o'clock the same day, amidst the curses of the American army. The other malignant proceeding originated with an officer of high rank, who was so mean as to envy the superiority of another, and so vindictive as to circulate calumny for his overthrow: but this endeavour was soon frustrated, and the author became con-

temptible: it should be noted that this was the only occasion, on which the ability and integrity of General WASHINGTON was ever questioned, but it proved as weak in its consequences, as it was wicked in contemplation.

FROM the first action which he commanded in this dreadful contest, when he compelled the British troops to evacuate Boston, by a victory unstained with blood, to the august termination of the struggle in 1781, he was always the same philosophic hero; he was an uncommon man, fitted for uncommon difficulties, and, happily for the interests of the new world, it was so ordered by providence, that his mighty trials, were but "squared to his proportionate strength," his intelligence corresponded with his intrepidity, and he was graced with both *Minervas*: the alacrity of his mind felt no decay from disappointment: the resources of his capacity were commensurate to the perils as they arose: he regarded the caprices of fortune with steadiness, and knowing that his cause was just, he relied, with firmness, on his dauntless followers and the will of heaven.

IN 1783 a general peace was negotiated and concluded in Europe, and then the proud hour arrived, when this great man had finished all the labours of his military life; he entered Newyork in triumph, amidst the acclamations of a liberated people: he was not decorated with the *fasces* or *insignia* of a Roman warrior, nor did he drag the representatives of a plundered province at his chariot wheels, in bondage and in chains: his dignity and solacement were derived from a purer source; he brought the assurance of manumission to a suffering world, and bade them prepare a charter for the security of their rescued privileges.

HE resigned his commission, as commander in chief, to Congress, which he had used with such wonderful advantage to his country, but without ostentation or any accompanyment of vanity; and returned, with gladness, to the bosom of his family at Mount Vernon. As he passed through the intermediate towns and villages, all ages and degrees poured forth, to welcome, with the tenderest congratulations, the deliverer of his country: they offered up their artless supplications, to the throne of mercy, to bless

and preserve their common benefactor, and those unadulterated tokens of regard must have made a deep and felicitous impression on a heart such as he possessed.

REPEATED offers of compensation were now made him, by the various states, for his manifold services, but he declined them all, and even those which might only liquidate the additional expences he had incurred in the public cause: his enlarged mind felt superior to such considerations, he was satisfied with having run a race of glory, and drew his richest rewards from his own sensations: his desires were bounded by honour; he had all the self denial and magnanimity so attributable to *Scipio*, but the point of his heroism had a more philanthropic direction.

FROM the peace of 1783 to 1787, he passed his time in a rotation of civil and social duties, arranging and methodizing his domestic concerns; maintaining an extensive correspondence with eminent personages at home and abroad; perusing works of science; examining experiments in arts, and the amazing phenomena of nature, and receiv-

ing the visits and homage of illustrious foreigners and natives, who were incessantly crouding to Mount Vernon, to salute its benignant owner.

IN 1787 he was called to a seat in that convention, which sat in Philadelphia, to assist in the stupendous and difficult task of making a new constitution for the United States; and of that venerable assemblage, that constellation of sages, he was chosen president: when the several articles of this inestimable obligation were digested and matured, it was issued for the observance of his happy countrymen, and the admiration of the universe: its provisions had been duly weighed and ameliorated, by his inquisitive and comprehensive understanding, and it received a prompt currency under the influence of his name.

IT is a simple, beautiful structure, made up with skill from liberal grants and concessions, and as perfect in its component parts as such an instrument of legation can be, which professes to combine social security with individual liberty: we do not insist so unequivocally upon the strength of this

compact, as that is materially dependent upon the wisdom and morality of those it is calculated to govern: man, as a species, is more liable to the impressions of delusion than of truth; and, notwithstanding he is rational, must be guarded and limited in his agency, lest the indulgence of his own inordinate desires, should de detrimental to the happiness of all.

WERE it possible to persuade mankind, what is their chief interest here to know, that to assist the good endeavours, and to sympathize with the weaknesses and necessities of each other, yields an enjoyment far superior to any of a mere selfish nature; there would be little occasion, in a moral view, to threaten the infliction either of temporal or eternal punishment. Indeed it seems almost sufficiently just, if there be any totally destitute of humanity, that such, from their dulness or malignity, are deprived of the most exquisite and exalted felicity.

ON the 30th of April, 1789, he was invested as president of the United States, in Newyork, and his investiture was hailed and accompanied by the unfeigned rapture of his

fellow citizens. He then entered upon one of the most solemn offices that man can possibly assume: to administer a government of novel elements: to organize the high republican departments of state, and give to each its due nerve, ramification, and civic dependencies: to make the effect as parallel as possible with popular expectation, yet to ward against any irrational infringement so far, as that the whole might be ultimately practicable and durable: but the national confidence attended his exertions, and that confidence was well reposed, as he began his supreme delegation with principles of virtue. The pleasures of virtue, are, first, the immediate satisfaction we enjoy in contributing to the advantage of others, virtue in this case being its own best reward; not that it bestows because it receives, but that it receives because it is disposed to bestow, as a luminous body is yet more enlightened by the reflection of its own splendour.

TO declare that he administered the obligations of his great office with propriety, would be but a feeble acknowledgment: he stepped forward with modest hesitation, in obedience to the public voice, to give or-

der, and harmony, and force, to the chaotic and untried principles of a new scheme of rule, and he accomplished all that a human being could; he defined the extent of the common charter of his nation; and, in the hazardous performance of the contract, he laid the foundation of such a pure and liberal system of ethical policy, as no confederation of people had heretofore known; he knew what portion of liberty perturbed man could bear, and he was solicitous that he should have as much as he was fitted to enjoy.

IN the decline of the same year, in which he had consented to bear the incumbent weight of the young republic, he visited the eastern states, and was saluted by all classes of the inhabitants, with fervor, love, and duty. The congratulations he experienced, were such as monarchs might envy: the respect he met was of that unsophisticated nature, in which the soul makes its offering with the body—every municipal and religious community addressed him on his arrival; and, in his answers to these affectionate memorials of public esteem, he had the wisdom to disseminate such documents, as might operate to an obedience of the laws,

and to uphold morality; knowing, that we can have no practice of goodness, or calmness of mind, but what is connected with moral beauty.

WHEN the presidential term had expired, he indicated a resolution to return once more to the shades of domestic retirement, as the infirmities of age had rendered him less vigorous; he had even pondered upon his farewel address, and was preparing for a final secession from the affairs of state, when his apprehensive countrymen, united to implore him to desist from such an abandonment of office: their interposition superceded his own will, and he was inducted in the chief magistracy, a second time, to the manifest satisfaction of all honest men in America!

THE good sense and probity of a people, was never more conspicuous, than in this cautious proceeding; as it is not altogether problematical, but the very existence of the commonwealth depended upon this timely adoption: the moral and political world were then trembling with the effect of a convulsion, which threatened, in its progress,

to overthrow the institutes of subordination, and rebarbarize mankind: and the imposing speciousness of the innovation constituted its evil—an extraordinary and vast revolution took place in France, at once delighting, amazing, and affrighting the universe: this was an event of such portentous magnitude and dreadful splendour, as made the members of the old establishments shudder, lest the finger of reform should expose their hideousness, and crumble the feudal fabrics of antiquity into dust; as they had become too rotten to be touched, even by the talisman of virtue. They saw the regal diadem abused, and the monastic authorities totter; the monk and the courtier cashiered, and all the gothic privileges of pride vanish and dissolve in air: the patrician began to doubt his preeminence, and slavery hurled the chain at his oppressor: a new code of slip-shod morals was obtruded upon credulity, and the young calendar of the hour took the vizor from the seasons: the solemnity of the altar was invaded by a civic dance, and the laws of matrimony were obliterated by the voluptuaries of *Epicurus*: they encumbered a figure with tawdry habiliments that they called *reason*, and made her violate the

law and the prophets: this limitless enfranchisement of the passions, made the thoughtless frantic, and the thinking weep: as the causes which produced this issue were lost in time, so the consequences of its influence were beyond the reach of calculation: when the first sensations of monarchical consternation had subsided, an expanded and decided system of counteraction was put in force, and a war commenced, with a peculiar feature of horror; not for the recovery of a province, or to assert the dignity of an insulted empire, but for the overthrow of prejudice and the extermination of principle.

THE progress of these commotions, had an obvious tendency to agitate the people of the united States, many of whom were transported with zeal, at the supposed liberation of so many millions of their fellow creatures: liberty feasts were held in the large towns, and such inflammatory measures pursued as were inconsistent with the pacific views of the government: many insiduous arts were used to involve the country in a war with GreatBritain; and the French faction, directing the current of the lunacy,

were incessant in their intrigues, when General WASHINGTON published his declaration of neutrality,and saved the nation.

THIS act of salvation was the result of mature thought; the crisis, in which he resolved on the proclamation, was pregnant with infinite calamity; he risked the durability of his hard and well earned reputation, by thus firmly opposing the indiscreet spirit of the time, but he saw the direct relation of the folly, and its ultimate mischief: both houses of Congress ratified the deed, and he pursued his exalted functions with stability, circumspection, delicacy, and honour. His conduct, during this perilous conjuncture, was, perhaps, the greatest proof of his sagacity and magnanimity, that occurred in the history of his brilliant life: the love he bore his country subdued all minor considerations; he had the greatness to be just and kind towards those, who seemed eager to be destroyed in the gratification of an indigested desire: by this determined step he paralized the arm of sedition, but it had the unavoidable effect of partially jarring the chords of public harmony: yet the bond of amity between the president and the people was

unsullied: the inquietude was diminished, in proportion as the measure was understood, and although dissension ever did, and ever will, happen in the best regulated governments, the prevailing part of a nation constantly veer towards the points of reciprocal justice.

As the discontents, arising from this great effort of policy, have not wholly subsided, it may not be improper to suppose the motives which actuated the supreme magistrate: he saw that the conservation of the civil order was endangered by this illegitimate novelty, which undermined the base of mutual protection and personal comfort; he knew that the national character of his countrymen was forming, and he was unwilling that any of their habitudes should be derived from Gallic deformity: he gathered but little felicity from the *Decades* and misbegotten mummeries of the French Directory, being assured that they were inroads incompatible with the dignity and permanent good of human nature: their abolition of the sabbath, with its annexed piety and consolation, and corrective ordinances, was not, with him, an event of consummate

glory: he believed and felt that an observance of its balmy duties allured us to resignation in the sweetest way, and that our delights were even unauthorized without gratitude—to those dark spirits, whose faith is bounded by their senses, we shall commit the illustration of the advantages of an eternal oblivion.

THE embarrassments arising from this evil, were not all the inconveniences he had to contend with, at this era; an Indian war broke forth, which, in its first effects, caused some consternation, but, by the adroitness, skill, and intrepidity of General *Wayne*, soon terminated in favour of his arms: a ratification of peace was then concluded between the United States and the savages, and the president, in his comprehensive administration, had the beneficence to make the comfort of a prostrate foe, a leading consideration.

IN the month of September, 1796, the time had revolved when a new election was to occur, of an appropriate person to fill the presidential seat: and while the public hope was indulged, that General WASHINGTON would accept it, for a third time; he signi-

fied his unalterable resolution of receding from the toils of state, in an affectionate and wise ADDRESS to the nation; the letter and spirit of which, we fervently pray, may be understood and practised, from this period, to ages yet unborn.

HE resigned the mantle of authority with confidence to his successor, after dedicating *forty-five years* of his resplendent life, to the advantage of his country: it cannot surprise, that his renunciation of power should create dejection in his fellow citizens, whose impulse to action was virtue, and whose pursuit was justice: he consented to assume power for the benefit of mankind, and not for his own gratification: power is no estimable quality by itself; it is the power of doing good alone, that is desirable to the wise.

HIS conduct, in his executive capacity, was dignified, yet condescending;* and mer-

* ON General WASHINGTON's birth day, which was a few days ago, the city of Philadelphia was unusually gay; every person of consequence in it, Quakers alone excepted, made it a point to visit the General on this day. As early as eleven o'clock in the morning he was prepared to receive them, and the audience lasted till three in the afternoon. The society of the Cincinnati.

ciful, yet resolute: he felt for the infirmities of humanity, and took an especial precaution, that while he guarded against the establishment or continuance of an evil, to make adequate allowance for the weaknesses of our nature: he knew that the benign pur-

the clergy, the officers of the militia, and several others who formed a distinct body of citizens came by themselves separately. The foreign ministers attended in their richest dresses and most splendid equipages. Two large parlours were open for the reception of the gentlemen, the windows of one of which towards the street were crowded with spectators on the outside. The sideboard was furnished with cake and wines, whereof the visitors partook. I never observed so much cheerfulness before in the countenance of General Washington; but it was impossible for him to remain insensible to the attention and the compliments paid to him on this occasion.

THE ladies of the city, equally attentive, paid their respects to Mrs. Washington, who received them in the drawing room up stairs. After having visited the General most of the gentlemen also waited upon her. A public ball and supper terminated the rejoicings of the day. Not one town of any importance was there in the whole union, where some meeting did not take place in honour of this day.

GENERAL Washington gives no public dinners or other entertainments, except to those who are in diplomatic capacities, and to a few families on terms of intimacy with Mrs. Washington. Strangers, with whom he wishes to have some conversation about agriculture or any such subject are sometimes invited to tea. This, by many, is attributed to his saving disposition; but it is more just to ascribe it to his prudence and foresight, for as the salary of the president is very small, and totally inadequate by itself to support an expensive style of life, were he to give numerous and splendid entertainments, the same might possibly be expected from subsequent presidents, who, if their private fortunes were not considerable, would be unable to live in the same style, and might be exposed to many ill-natured observations, from the relinquishment of what the people had been accustomed to; it is most likely also that General Washington has been actuated by these motives, because in his private capacity at Mount Vernon every stranger meets with a hospitable reception from him.

WELDS' *Travels.*

poses of every punishment of civil institution, should be rendered as obvious as possible, lest cruelty be inculcated by example.

FROM March, 1797, to July, 1798, he remained tranquilly embosomed at Mount Vernon, in the performance of the amiable but restricted duties of private life; personifying, in his own character, what that citizen ought to be, who had the happy destination of living under the most free and clement government on earth: while he was thus peacefully and radiantly declining to the tomb, he was again supplicated to assist his country; she had been insulted and aggrieved: he felt implicated, as an American, in the national honour, and accepted the condition of the prayer.—The manifestation of this patriotic acceptance, was the last official action of this venerable man.

ON the 14th of December, 1799, he departed from this life, at his seat, at Mount Vernon, in the sixty-eighth year of his age; after having reaped an harvest of glory, commensurate with all that can be effected by mortal greatness.

HE was as much a proficient in the arts of persuasion as any, for his influence on his countrymen was unlimited; and this influence was among the greatest triumphs of virtue. The institutions of *Quinctilian*, or the orations of *Thucydides* or *Sallust*, exhibit no rule of eloquence more charming, or more perfect than what he providentially exemplified, when he exhorted a part of the continental army, on the 15th of March, 1783, to resist the diabolical exertions of some seditious emissaries, who were labouring to estrange them from the common good: no system of science could have furnished an appeal more effectual, nor could any man have so restrained the passions of an armed multitude, but him, whose wisdom, bravery, and integrity were concomitant with each other.

THE disinterestedness of his mind was as alluring as it was noble,* and he used every

*Item. Whereas by a law of the Commonwealth of Virginia, enacted in the year 1785, the legislature thereof was pleased (as an evidence of its approbation of the services I had rendered the public, during the Revolution, and partly, I believe, in consideration of my having suggested the vast advantages which the community would derive from the extension of its inland navigation under legislative patronage) to present me with one hundred shares, of one hundred dollars each, in the incorporated company, estab-

opportunity to promote the establishments for learning: he acted from high and benevolent motives, and he required no dearer recompence than what his feelings could

lished for the purpose of extending the navigation of James River, from tide water to the mountains;—and also with fifty shares of one hundred pounds sterling each, in the corporation of another company likewise established for the similar purpose of opening the navigation of the river Potomack, from tide water to Fort Cumberland; the acceptance of which, although the offer was highly honorable and grateful to my feelings, was refused, as inconsistent with a principle which I had adopted, and had never departed from - viz.—not to receive pecuniary compensation for any services I could render my country in its arduous struggle with Great Britain for its rights; and because I had evaded similar propositions from other states in the union. Adding to this refusal, however, an intimation that, if it should be the pleasure of the legislature to permit me to appropriate the said shares to *public uses*, I would receive them on those terms with due sensibility; and this it having consented to, in flattering terms, as will appear by a subsequent law and sundry resolutions, in the most ample and honorable manner—I proceed after this recital, for the more correct understanding of the case, to declare—that as it has always been a source of serious regret with me, to see the youth of these United States sent to foreign countries for the purpose of education, often before their minds were formed, or they had imbibed any adequate ideas of the happiness of their own; contracting too frequently, not only habits of dissipation and extravagance, but principles unfriendly to republican government, and to the true and genuine liberties of mankind; which, thereafter are rarely overcome.—For these reasons, it has been my ardent wish, to see a plan devised on a liberal scale, which would have a tendency to spread systematic ideas through all parts of this rising empire, thereby to do away local attachments and state prejudices, as far as the nature of things would, or indeed ought to admit, from our national councils.—Looking anxiously forward to the accomplishment of so desirable an object as this is, (in my estimation) my mind has not been able to contemplate any plan more likely to effect the measure, than the establishment of a UNIVERSITY in a central part of the United States, to which the youths of fortune and talents, from all parts thereof, might be sent for the completion of their education in all the branches of polite literature; in arts and sciences, in acquiring knowledge in the

afford ; yet what can be more pleasing than self-applause, when it is confirmed by the approbation of the good ? the ambitious place their chief happiness in fame, the avaricious in fortune, equally blind to the blessings that should follow. To employ every gentle method, therefore, to extend the principle of human sympathy : to improve our finer feelings, and give to the soul a more

principles of politics and good government, and (as a matter of infinite importance in my judgment) by associating with each other, and forming friendships in juvenile years, be enabled to free themselves, in a proper degree, from those local prejudices and habitual jealousies, which have juſt been mentioned ; and which, when carried to excess, are never-failing sources of disquietude to the public mind, and pregnant of mischievous consequences to this country ; under these impressions, so fully dilated.

Item I give and bequeath in perpetuity the fifty shares which I hold in the Potomack company (under the aforesaid acts of the legislature of Virginia) towards the endowment of a UNIVERSITY, to be established within the limits of the district of Columbia, under the auspices of the general government, if that government should incline to extend a foſtering hand towards it ; and until such seminary is established, and the funds arising on these shares shall be required for its support. my further WILL and DESIRE is, that the profit accruing therefrom shall, whenever the dividends are made, be laid out in purchasing stock in the bank of Columbia, or some other bank, at the discretion of my executors, or by the Treasurer of the United States for the time being, under the direction of Congress—provided that honorable body should patronize the measure ; and the dividends proceeding from the purchase of such stock, is to be vested in more stock, and so on, until a sum, adequate to the accomplishment of the object, is obtained ; of which I have not the smallest doubt, before many years pass away, even if no aid or encouragement is given by the legislative authority, or from any other source.

Item. The hundred shares which I hold in the James River company, I have given, and now confirm in perpetuity, to and for the use and benefit of liberty hall academy, in the county of Rockbridge, in the commonwealth of Virginia.

(Extracts from *WASHINGTON's* Will.)

tender touch of all that is endearing to humanity, by exercising it in the speculation and practice of the virtues, is the most godlike occupation, and the great purpose of moral precept and sound philosophy.

GENERAL WASHINGTON was in his person about six feet in height, his eyes were gray, but full of animation: his visage was serene, and the temper of his thoughtful mind did not seem disposed to the frequent indulgence of mirth; his limbs were well proportioned and muscular, and his deportment carried an air of majesty and solemnity in it, that was altogether awful to folly: though no man did more for the interests of human nature in general, yet few men have unbosomed themselves with more circumspection than he did, to any particular individual; but this habit of reserve has been the characteristic of the wisest persons that ever lived, when possessed of similar authority—it has been asserted that he was never seen to smile, during the progress of the revolutionary war: in the more unrestrained moments of private intercourse, he expressed himself with perspicuity and diffidence, but

seldom used more words than were necessary for the elucidation of his opinion: the lineaments of his face implied that he was an older man than he really was; but the weight of care, that must necessarily have pressed upon the reflection of a man, engaged in such a continuity of vast enterprize and deep responsibility, could not fail to antedate in some degree, the works of time.

THE graces of General WASHINGTON'S person, were not unfrequently instrumental in the promotion of his views; the advantages resulting from natural grace, in polished and even savage life, are wonderfully convictive; and this effect will not be amazing, when it is known, that the most penetrating analyzers of man, and his attributes, have determined that all action is graceful, in proportion as the impulses are innocent: nothing that is vicious or abominable can be charming: nor does it breathe or exist in any emotions arising from vanity or folly: grace is the sublimity of beauty: it is a quality analagous to the most exquisite tenderness of affection; that modest, yet gay illustration of action, which accompanies

pure love: gracefulness is an expression of dignified pleasure; but that high order of pleasure is not ease, it is something more.

As a didactic writer, he can scarcely be esteemed too much; his sentiments have a force and fascination to restore reason, invigorate patriotism, and awaken piety: his public letters and documents should be engraved upon the tablet of the nation, as examples of profound sagacity, genuine integrity, and unaffected humility: they should be eternally regarded, in a political interpretation, as "eyes to the blind": his simplicity of style proves him to have been guided by a fine taste; when a writer is verbose or glittering, his argument is weakened, and none but the unwise can admire him.

It was the peculiar honour of General Washington, not only to deserve, but to enjoy the approbation of all men of probity in either hemisphere; those persons who had been his opponents in Britain, from an attachment to their sovereign and the prevailing councils of the hour, became his friends at the conclusion of a peace, from

contemplating the moderation of his deportment, and the moral energies of his mind; and some of the more distinguished, considered it as a reflected merit, to be in the habits of correspondence and the interchange of civilities,* with such an embellished and admirable personage.

HE had the urbanity of a gentleman, without the littlenesses of pride; and in the very plenitude of his authority, would sheathe a denial so kindly, that the sting of disappointment was absorbed in the beauty of the declaration: he embraced the delegation to rule, as a great man should; not to indulge the luxury of the senses, or the in-

* *Item*, To the *Earl of Buchan* I recommit "the Box made of the oak that sheltered the great Sir *William Wallace*, after the battle of Falkirk"—presented to me by his lordship, in terms too flattering for me to repeat, with a request "to pass it, on the event of my decease, to the man in my country, who should appear to merit it best, upon the same conditions that have induced him to send it to me." Whether easy or not, to select *the man* who might comport with his lordship's opinion in this respect, is not for me to say; but conceiving that no disposition of this valuable curiosity can be more eligible than the recommitment of it to his own cabinet, agreeably to the original design of the Goldsmiths' company of Edinburgh, who presented it to him, and, at his request, consented that it should be transferred to me—I do give and bequeath the same to his lordship; and, in case of his decease, to his heir, with my grateful thanks for the distinguished honour of presenting it to me, and more especially for the favourable sentiments with which he accompanied it.

(*Washington's Will.*)

satiate aims of ambition, but for the blessed purpose of disseminating love and protection to all: he stood as a preeminent supporter in society; like a Tuscan column, with sober magnificence; plain, strong, attractive and erect: with Atlantean properties, equal to more than the weight he had sustained: at once the vital principle and the ornament of that constitution he had sanctioned, and his fame will be co-eternal with the existence of freedom.

WE have never contemplated the character of a magistrate more inflexible to wrong, nor of a man so active and so spotless, in any record, either antient or modern: he did more for imitation, and less for repentance, than any contemporary: had he derived his ideas of legislation and forbearance from the statutes of the golden age, he could not have done more to enforce innocency and mutual truth; and he confessedly lived to make mankind better, if it is in the virtue of an individual to correct our frailty.

HAVING followed this august statesman to the sepulchre, it now devolves upon the grateful and the provident of his country-

men, to hang it round with symbols of regard, and inscribe it with the texts of his policy: let them inform a future age, that he shunned no public question, nor omitted any duty; in the cherishing hope, that other men may copy the impressive example: and the insinuation of hope makes our delusion our joy; but, in simplicity, yet force, of language: in clearness of understanding and depth of judgment: in his disdain of any commutation with falshood: in his contempt of trivial expedients, and his ability to make that spirit governing: in his appropriation of direct remedies for national evils, and in his majesty of character altogether, we have seriously to apprehend that he will be never equalled; he had all the decision of *Cato*, without his coarseness—he had raised himself, by progressive excellence, above the tooth of envy, and the desperation of malice: and was not assailable by any mortal hand:

> ———Nec Jovis ira, nec ignes,
> Nec poterit ferrum, nec edax abolere vetustas.
>
> OVID, METAM. lib. 15.

HE is now removed from terrestrial vicissitudes and the incorrigibility of folly forever; and is sainted in heaven, if it is in

the piety of a people to canonize their benefactor: he was a rare luminary, as mild as he was effulgent, and, we trust, that the influence of his bright example will be cœval with our nation: he approached as nearly to the divine essence, as any thing human can. Let those (if such there are) who, from depravity of intellect, or imbecility of mind, may think of General WASHINGTON with irreverence, reflect maturely upon what America might have been, had not such a preserver been among us. When the varied beauties of legislation lay before him, he recommended those articles for congressional adoption, which were most analogous to our habits, and best suited for our prosperity: liberty is less endangered here, than in any other country, as there is more general intelligence in the community: those overheated zealots, who may believe that he did not do enough, are but imperfectly acquainted with the assimilation of principle and practice: we can fondly transfer a theory from our fancy to our expectation, that would be ephemeral in execution: the doctrines which are fulminated by enthusiasm, must be tried by experience and mellowed by wis-

dom, before the statute can be properly operative: those laws sustain public virtue the longest, which are reconcileable to moderation and the floating usages of civil life: this is not an epoch of romance, and all utopian follies should be exploded: we may demand much for common comfort, but we must yield something to insure its continuation.

[IT was originally intended, by the compilers of this work, to have omitted the celebrated anonymous letter, written by an officer of the American army, encamped near New Windsor, in March, 1783;—but they have been induced to insert it as a necessary preface to the inimitable answer of the commander in chief; who, it has been suggested by some friends of high political reputation, had never, on any occasion, discovered a superior promptitude of talent, and dexterity of address, than in suppressing the deep laid mischief of this ingenious incendiary, whose insidious eloquence had almost inflamed to revolt the then untainted purity of American valour.

[IT may be proper before we give *this* artful letter, to state further, that a memorial was presented to Congress, in Dec. 1782, in behalf of the army, by three commissioners, consisting of Maj. Gen. *M'Dougall*, and two field officers, in which their wishes were thus expressed: "1. present pay.—2. a settlement of the arrearages of pay, and security for what is due.—3. a commutation of the half pay allowed by different resolutions of Congress for an equivalent in gross.—4. a settlement of the account of deficiences of rations and compensations.—5. a settlement of the accounts of deficiences of cloathing and compensation." In April following, the army was informed, by their Commissioners, that Congress had "decided on nothing of moment for them." Upon this, a meeting of the general and field officers was called, at the public building, for the express purpose of considering "what further measures (if any) should be adopted to obtain redress." This anonymous summons was accompanied with the letter in question.]

TO THE OFFICERS OF THE ARMY.

GENTLEMEN,

A FELLOW soldier, whose interest and affections bind him strongly to you, whose past sufferings has been as great, and

whose future fortunes may be as desperate as yours—would beg leave to address you.

AGE has its claims, and rank is not without its pretensions to advise, but though unsupported by both, he flatters himself, that the plain language of sincerity and experience, will neither be unheard nor unregarded.

LIKE many of you, he loved private life, and left it with regret. He left it, determined to retire from the field, with the necessity that called him to it, and not till then—not till the enemies of his country, the slaves of power, and the hirelings of injustice, were compelled to abandon their schemes, and acknowledge America as terrible in arms as she had been humble in remonstrance. With this object in view, he has long shared in your toils, and mingled in your dangers. He has felt the cold hand of poverty without a murmur, and has seen the growing insolence of wealth without a sigh.—But, too much under the direction of his wishes, and sometimes weak enough to take desire for opinion, he has till lately, very lately, believed in the justice of his country. He hoped that as the clouds of adversity scat-

tered, and as the sunshine of peace and better fortune broke in upon us, the coldness and severity of government would relax, and that, more than justice, that gratitude, would blaze forth upon those hands, which had upheld her in the darkest stages of her passage, from impending servitude to acknowledged independence. But faith has its limits as well as temper, and there are points beyond which neither can be stretched, without sinking into cowardice,or plunging into credulity. This, my friends, I conceive to be your situation. Hurried to the very verge of both, another step would ruin you forever. To be tame and unprovoked when injuries press hard upon you, is more than weakness; but to look up for kinder usage, without one manly effort of your own, would fix your character, and shew the world how richly you deserve those chains you broke. To guard against this evil, let us take a view of the ground upon which we now stand, and thence carry our thoughts forward, for a moment, into the unexplored field of expedient.

AFTER a pursuit of seven years, the object for which you set out is at length

brought within your reach. Yes, my friends, that suffering courage of yours, was active once; it has conducted the United States of America through a doubtful and bloody war. It has placed her in the chair of independency, and peace returns again to bless—whom? A country courting your return to private life, with tears of gratitude, and smiles of admiration. Longing to divide with you that independency which your gallantry has given, and those riches which your wounds have preserved? is this the case? or is it rather, a country that tramples upon your rights, disdains your cries, and insults your distresses? have you not, more than once, suggested your wishes, and made known your wants to Congress? wants and wishes which gratitude and policy should have anticipated, rather than evaded. And have you not lately in the meek language of intreating memorials, begged from their justice, what you could no longer expect from their favour? how have you been answered? let the letter which you are called to consider to-morrow make the reply.

IF this then be your treatment, while the swords you wear are necessary for the de-

fence of America, what have you to expect from peace when your voice shall sink, and your strength dissipate by division? when those very swords, the instruments and companions of your glory shall be taken from your sides, and no remaining mark of military distinctions be left, but your marks, infirmities, and scars? can you then consent to be the only sufferers by this revolution, and, retiring from the field, grow old in poverty, wretchedness, and contempt? can you consent to wade through the vileness of dependency, and owe the miserable remains of life to charity, which has hitherto been spent in honour!—if you can—go—and carry with you the jest of tories, and the scorn of whigs; the ridicule, and what is worse, the pity of the world. Go, starve, and be forgotten! but if your spirit should revolt at this; if you have sense enough to discover, and spirit sufficient to oppose tyranny, whatever garb it may assume; whether it be the plain coat of republicanism, or the splendid robe of royalty; if you have yet learned to discriminate between a people and a cause; between men and principles—awake—attend to your situation, and redress yourselves. If the present moment be lost, every future

effort is in vain ; and your threats then will be as empty as your entreaties now.

I WOULD advise you, therefore, to come to some final opinion, upon what you can bear, and what you will suffer. If your determination be in any proportion to your wrongs, carry your appeal from the justice to the fears of government. Change the milk and water style of your memorials ; assume a bolder tone ; decent, but lively, spirited, and determined ; and suspect the man who would advise to more moderation, or longer forbearance. Let two or three men who can feel as well as write, be appointed to draw up your late remonstrance ; for I would no longer give it the soothing, soft, unsuccessful epithet of memorial.—Let it represent, in language that will neither dishonour you by its rudeness, nor betray you by its fears, what has been promised by Congress, and what has been performed ; how long and how patiently you have suffered—how little you have asked ; and how much of that little has been denied. Tell them that, though you were the first, and would wish to be the last to encounter danger : that though despair itself can never drive you in-

to dishonour, it may drive you from the field; that the wound often irritated, and never healed, may at length become incurable—and that the slightest mark of indignity from Congress now, must operate like the grave, and part you forever—that in any political event, the army has its alternative. If peace, that nothing shall separate you from your arms but death. If war, that courting the auspices, and inviting the direction of your illustrious leader, you will retire to some yet unsettled country, smile in your turn, and "mock when their fear cometh on." But let it represent also, that should they comply with the request of your late memorials, it would make you more happy, and them more respectable.—That while the war should continue, you would follow their standard to the field; and that when it came to an end, you would withdraw into the shade of private life, and give the world another subject of wonder and applause;—an *army victorious over its enemies—victorious over itself.*

[IMMEDIATELY on the circulation of the foregoing address, the commander in chief issued an official order, convening the general and field officers at the new building, to hear the report of the commissioners from the army to Congress, and to devise what further measures ought to be adopted, as the most rational, and best calculated to attain the just and important object in view. In this meeting, which was fully attended by the general and field officers, by one officer from each company, and by a suitable representation of the staff—the commander in chief thus addressed the army :]

GENTLEMEN,

BY an anonymous summons, an attempt has been made to convene you together. How inconsistent with the rules of propriety, and how subversive of all order and discipline, let the good sense of the army judge!

IN the moment of this summons, another anonymous production was put into circulation, addressed more to the feelings and passions than to the reason and judgment of the army. The author of the piece is intitled to much credit for the goodness of his pen; and I could wish he had as much credit for the rectitude of his heart; for, as men see through difficulties, and are induced by the reflecting faculties of the mind, to use dif-

ferent means to attain the same end, the author of the piece should have had more charity than to mark for suspicion, the man who should recommend moderation and longer forbearance, or, in other words, who should not think as he thinks, and act as he advises. But he had another plan in view, in which candour and liberality of sentiment, regard to justice, and love of country, have no part; and he was right to insinuate the darkest suspicions to effect the blackest designs. That the address is drawn with great art; that it is intended to answer the most insidious purposes; that it is intended to impress the mind with an idea of premeditated injustice to the sovereign power of the United States, and rouse all those resentments *which must unavoidably flow* from such a belief; that the first mover of this scheme, whoever he may be, intended to take advantage of the passions, while they were warmed with the recollection of past distresses, without giving time for cool deliberate thinking, and that composure of mind which is necessary to give dignity and stability to measures, is rendered too obvi-

ous, by the mode of conducting the business, to need other proof than a reference to the proceeding.

THUS much, gentlemen, I have thought it incumbent on me to observe to you, to shew upon what principles I opposed the hasty, irregular meeting which was proposed to be held on Tuesday last, and not because I wanted a disposition to give you every opportunity, consistent with your own honour, and the dignity of the army to make known your grievances. If my conduct heretofore, has not evinced to you, that I have been a faithful friend to the army, my declaration of it at this time would be equally unavailing and improper. But as I was among the first who embarked in the cause of our common country, as I have never left your side one moment, but when called from you on public duty; as I have been the constant companion and witness of your distresses, and not amongst the last to feel and acknowledge your merits; as I have ever considered my own military reputation as inseparably connected with that of the army; and my heart has ever expanded with joy, when I heard its praises, and my indig-

nation has risen, when the mouth of detraction has been opened against it, it can scarcely be supposed at this last stage of the war, that I am indifferent to its interests. But how are they to be promoted? the way is plain, says the anonymous addresser. "If war continues, remove into the unsettled country, there establish yourselves, and leave an ungrateful country to defend itself." But whom are they to defend? our wives, our children, and our farms, and other property which we have left behind us? or in this state of hostile separation, are we to take the two first (the latter cannot be removed) to perish in a wilderness with hunger, cold, and nakedness? If peace takes place, "never sheathe your swords," says he, "until you have obtained full and ample justice." This dreadful alternative of either deserting our country in the extremest hour of her distress, or turning our arms against it, which is the apparent object, unless Congress can be compelled into instant compliance, has something so shocking in it, that humanity revolts at the idea. My God! what can this writer have in view, by recommending such measures? can he be a friend to the ar-

my? can he be a friend to the country? rather is he not an insidious foe? some emissary, perhaps, from Newyork, plotting the ruin of both, by sowing the seeds of discord and separation between the civil and military powers of the continent? and what a compliment does he pay to our understandings, when he recommends measures, in either alternative, impracticable in their nature? but here, gentlemen, I will drop the curtain, because it would be as imprudent in me to assign my reasons for this opinion, as it would be insulting to your conception, to suppose you stood in need of them. A moment's reflection will convince every dispassionate mind of the physical impossibility of carrying either project into execution. There might, gentlemen, be an impropriety in my taking notice, in this address to you, of an anonymous production; but the manner in which this performance has been introduced to the army, the effect it was intended to have, together with some other circumstances, will amply justify my observations upon the tendency of that writing.

WITH respect to the advice given by the author, to suspect the man who shall recom-

mend moderation and longer forbearance, I spurn it, as every man who regards that liberty and reveres the justice for which we contend, undoubtedly must; for, if men are to be precluded from offering their sentiments on a matter which may involve the consideration of mankind, reason is of no use to us. The freedom of speech may be taken away, and dumb and silent we may be led, like sheep to the slaughter. I cannot in justice to my own belief, and which I have great reason to believe is the intention of Congress, conclude this address, without giving it as my decided opinion, that that honorable body entertain exalted sentiments of the services of the army, and from full conviction of its merits and sufferings, will do it complete justice: *that their endeavours to discover* and establish funds, have been unwearied, and will not cease till they have succeeded, I have not a doubt.

BUT like all other large bodies, where there is a variety of different interests to reconcile, their deliberations are slow. Why then should we distrust them? and in consequence of that distrust, adopt measures which would cast a shade over that glory

which has been so justly acquired, and tarnish the reputation of an army which has been celebrated through all Europe for its fortitude and patriotism? and for what is this done? to bring the object we seek for nearer? no, most certainly, in my opinion, it will cast it at a greater distance. For myself, and I take no merit in giving the assurance, being induced to it from principles of gratitude, veracity, and justice, a grateful sense of the confidence you have ever placed in me, a recollection of the cheerful assistance and prompt obedience I have experienced from you, under every vicissitude of fortune, and the sincere affection I feel for an army I had so long the honour to command, will oblige me to declare in this public and solemn manner, that in the attainment of complete justice for all your toils and dangers, and in the gratification of every wish, so far as may be done consistently with the great duty I owe my country, and those powers I am bound to respect, you may freely command my services to the utmost of my abilities.

WHILE I give you these assurances and pledge myself in the most unequivocal man-

ner to exert whatever ability I am possessed of in your favour, let me entreat you, gentlemen, on your part, not to take any measures, which, viewed in the calm light of reason, will lessen the dignity and sully the glory you have hitherto maintained.—Let me request you to rely on the plighted faith of your country, and place a full confidence in the purity of the intentions of Congress, that previous to your dissolution, as an army, they will cause all your accounts to be fairly liquidated, as directed in the resolutions which were published to you two days ago, and that they will adopt the most effectual measures in their power to render ample justice to you, for your faithful and meritorious services. And let me conjure you in the name of our common country, as you value your own sacred honour, as you respect the sacred rights of humanity, and as you regard the military and national character of America to express your utmost horror and detestation of the man, who wishes, under any specious pretences, to overturn the liberties of our country, and who wickedly attempts to open the floodgates of civil discord, and deluge our rising empire with blood.

BY thus determining, and thus acting, you will pursue the plain and direct road to the attainment of your wishes; you will defeat the insidious designs of your enemies, who are compelled to resort from open force to secret artifice. You will give one more proof of unexampled patriotism and patient virtue, rising superior to the pressure of the most complicated sufferings; and you will by the dignity of your conduct, afford occasion for posterity to say, when speaking of the glorious example you have exhibited to mankind, "had this day been wanting, the world had never seen the last stage of perfection to which human nature is capable of attaining."

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Head Quarters, Newburgh,
March 15, 1783.

[HIS excellency the commander in chief having withdrawn, the following resolutions were moved by generals *Knox* and *Putnam*, and adopted by the meeting:—"*Resolved*, that the unanimous thanks of the officers of the army, be presented to the commander in chief for his excellent address, and the communications he has been pleased to make to them; and to assure him, that the officers reciprocate his affectionate expressions, with the greatest sincerity of which the human heart is capable:"—"*Resolved*, that

at the commencement of the war, the officers of the American army engaged in the service of their country from the purest love and attachment to the rights and liberties of human nature; which motive still exists in the highest degree; and that no circumstance of distress or danger, shall induce a conduct that may tend to sully the reputation and glory which they have acquired, at the price of their blood, and eight years faithful service."—"*Resolved*, that the army continue to have an unshaken confidence in the virtue of Congress, and their country."—"*Resolved*, that the officers of the American army, view with abhorrence, and reject with disdain, the infamous propositions contained in a late anonymous address to them, and resent with indignation the secret attempts of some unknown person to collect the officers together, in a manner totally subversive of all discipline and good order."]

SUBSCRIBERS' NAMES.

BOSTON.

ANDREWS John
Abbot Samuel
Andrews William
Ayers Nathaniel
Amory Thomas
Adams Joſeph
Avery John jun.
Allen & Tucker
Atherton A. H.
Auſtin Joſeph
Ames Jonas
Ames Aaron
Andrews James
Appleton George W.
Aiken Joſeph
Amory John jun.
Allen Jeremiah eſq
Andrews John eſq..
Allen James A.
Archbald Thomas G.
Appleton Samuel
Adams Abraham jun.
Amory Thomas C. 2
Appleton Nathaniel
Buſſey Benjamin
Barrel Joſeph eſq.
Bulfinch Charles
Brewſter Oliver
Bromfield Henry
Blake Thomas
Burchſted James
Bridge Joſeph
Briggs Enos jun.
Blake Martin
Bingham Caleb 6
Burge Joſeph
Bowen Daniel
Barrett G. L. 4
Baſs Henry jun,
Burbeck John
Briggs Thomas
Bowen Nathaniel
Bulfinch Samuel
Blake George eſq 2
Brooks P. C.
Bordman W. H.
Bordman W. jun.
Bridge Matthew
Brewer Thomas
Blanchard J. W.
Brindley Francis
Bradlee Samuel
Battelle Timothy
Barrett George
Brailsford Norton
Bates Daniel 4
Brimmer Herman
Blackburn Abner
Butterfield Abraham
Balch Jonathan
Babcock Adam 2
Bowdoin James eſq. 2
Bacon Joſiah
Bridge Samuel
Barrel Joſeph jun.
Bowers Samuel
Bryant Abel
Blanchard George
Bumſtead Jeremiah jun.
Baynes John 2
Broaders Priſcilla
Bowers Phineas
Bazin Abraham
Baker John
Bowman Edmund
Bradlee John
Bradlee Thomas
Bradford William
Badger Daniel
Bazin John
Bacon Robert
Bixby Luther
Boot & Pratt
Bright George
Barnes Benjamin
Billings Samuel
Boardman Darius
Benn Abraham
Brown William
Brown Joſiah
Burley Thomas 2
Bradbury Charles
Blake Edward jun.
Blanchard John
Bradlee Joſiah
Bigelow Aſahel
Baker Luke
Burroughs George eſq.
Brewer James
Boit Henry
Boot Francis
Bradford L.
Child David
Crocker Samuel M.
Copeland Nathaniel
Chamberlaine Richard
Coverly Samuel
Clark George
Callender Joſeph
Callender William
Carnes John
Cooper Samuel
Collins John
Church Edward
Cruft Hannah
Campbell James
Cuſhing Henry
Clark Humphrey
Crocker Mathias
Clark Nathaniel
Creaſe John
Creaſe Samuel
Clark Simpſon
Crosby Joel
Coates Benjamin
Carney Daniel
Clark Willard
Cotting U.
Codman Stephen
Coolidge Cornelius

Cuſhing Samuel
Crane Abijah
Carter John
Cravath Lemuel
Callender Thomas
Cockran William 2
Chapman Joſeph
Crocker Allen
Cleland William
Codman John
Cook Iſrael
Clarke Samuel
Cornwall J. G.
Clarke John
Cazneau Edward jun.
Callender Benjamin
Cunningham Robert
Callender Joſeph jun.
Cordis Thomas
Cuſhing John
Campbell James
Clark Thomas
Cooper Samuel eſq.
Cobb Benjamin
Curtis Thomas
Cunningham George
Clapp William
Dolliver Peter
Dow Weare
Dennie Thomas 2
Dexter Doct. Aaron
Davies Lucy
Dehon William
Dinſmore William
Duick Benjamin
Doyle W. M. S.
Davis Thomas eſq.
Davis Eliphalet
Davenport Addington 2
Dix Joſeph
Dickinſon Thomas eſq. 2
Delano Benjamin
Downes Lydia
Dorr Joſeph H.
Dewhurſt Henry
Dench Lawſon
Dyer Jeremiah
Dyer John D.
Dawſon James
Davenport Samuel D.
Davis Amaſa
Drew Job
Durant Cornelius
Davis Charles
Davis Joſhua
Duncan Lt. G. W.
Evans Robert
Eaton William B.
Ellis Jabez
Elliot Rev. John D. D.
Emmons Nathaniel
Emerſon Rev. W.
Elliſon James
Elliſon William jun.
Elliot Maj. G. Simon 2
Emes Luther
Foſdick Joſeph
Fox John
Farley Abel
Fitch Jeremiah
Freeman Nathaniel
Freeman Watſon
Farley Ebenezer
Feſſenden Benj. jun.
Foſter Nathaniel 2
Freeman Conſtant
Foſter James H.
Fleet John jun.
Farnum Rufus
Fowle Joſiah
Furneſs William
Fales & Keith
Fuller Stephen jun.
Farwell Oliver
Freeman Rowland
Fielden Thomas
Farmer William
Foſter Joſeph
Foxcroft Joſeph E.
Foſter James
Field Joſeph
Francis Ebenezer
Fowle Henry
Furber Thomas
Gardner Samuel eſq.
Goldſbury Samuel 2
Guirey Nitham
Gilbert John
Godfrey Thomas
Gore Stephen
Goodale Nathan
Goodale Amos
Gooch James 2
Goddard Nathaniel 3
Greenwood W. P.
Greenleaf Thomas
Geyer J. W. 5
Gair Joſeph
Gorham Stephen eſq. 3
Gray S.
Gray Edward jun.
Hall Joſeph eſq.
Hurd Joſeph
Howe Thomas
Harris Leach
Hammatt H. H. 2
Homer Andrew
Hawkins Samuel
Harris William
Homes Barzillai
Hawkins Benjamin 12
Homer Benjamin
Hubbard Henry
Herring Ebenezer
Haſtings Joſeph S.
Haſtings Thomas
Harris John
Hunnewell Jonathan 2
Hewes Thomas 2
Hyde Joſhua
Harris Joſeph
Huſe Enoch
Holden William
Hammond Aſa
Hamock Charles
Hinkley Abigail
Hearſey John
Hatch Iſrael
Homer William
Hale John
Hunt Mathew M.
Hoffman John
Hagger Benjamin K.
Hagger Jonas
Hale Timothy
Hawkes Levi
Hitchborn Benjamin
Haven William
Hammatt John B.
Homes Robert

Hall Stephen
Harrington Abel
Holden Edward
Hall William
Haſtings Samuel
Howland Benjamin
Harris Samuel
Howe Stephen
Hunt Samuel W.
Hodgdon Benja. jun.
Homer Jacob
Jutau John
Jeffries John doctor
Jones David
Johnſon Joſeph
Johnſon Edward
Jennings William
Jones T. K. 4
Joy B. 2
Joy John jun.
Johnſon Nathaniel
Jackſon Thomas
Jackſon Jonathan
Jones hon. J. C. 2
Jarvis John
Johnſon William
Ingalls Daniel
Kendal Thomas
Keating John
King Gedney
Knapp Joſiah
Kettell Andrew jun.
Kuhn Jacob
Kirkland rev. J. T.
Knapp George
Kneeland William
Loring Joſhua
Lincoln Mitchel
Lillie Thomas
Loring James
Luprian John
Lawrence Aſa
Lucas Joſiah
Loring James T
Loring Mathew
Lereboux J. B.
Lincoln David
Loring John
Lakin David
Lovering Joſeph jun
Lewis Thomas
Lovering William
Ladd William jun.
Leighton Elizabeth
Lyman Theodore 4
Lambert William
Lawrence Thomas
Lane John M.
Lathrop John eſq.
Lovett William 2
Langford Arthur
Loring Caleb
Lane George
Lovering John
Maſon hon. Jona. eſq.
Mackay William jun.
Marſton David L.
Miller Samuel
May col. Joſeph
May Samuel 2
Melville Allen
Marſhall Joſiah
Morrill James
Mackay M. Tertius
Munſon Iſrael
Manning William 2
Meſſinger Henry
Merckel John H.
Meſſinger capt. Daniel
M'lane Edward
Meriam Nathaniel
Meriam John
Milk John
Molineaux Robert
Milne Andrew
Mackay William
Major Frederick W.
Merry Jonathan
Merry Daniel
Murphey Henry
Munroe Edward
Morſe Samuel
Marſton John
May John 2
Mackay Mungo jun.
Magee Bernard
Minot Chriſtopher
Moor Samuel 2
Moulton Ezekiel
Murray
Nolen Charles
Nichols Perkins
Newell Joſeph
Neil Thomas
Norwood Samuel
Newel Andrew
Nolen Hervey
Oden John
Otis Thomas
Otis George
Oakman Ebenezer
Oliver William
Oliver F. J.
Parker Samuel P.
Pomeroy Zadock
Powell Joſeph
Porter Jacob
Poor Moſes
Parſons Gorham
Peirce Joſeph
Pope Lemuel jun.
Peirce Levi
Parke Mathew
Purkett Henry
Penniman S. & J
Pope Joſeph
Packard Charles
Pratt Nathan
Penniman William
Perkins James 2
Perkins Iſaac
Palmer capt. W. L.
Parſons Nehemiah 2
Porter William
Pollard Benjamin
Perkins col. Thomas 2
Parker John 4
Powel William eſq. 2
Phillips William eſq. 3
Parker John W
Prince capt. Samuel
Palfrey William
Piper Nahum
Popkin rev. J S.
Phillips Nathan
Perkins T. H. 2
Parſons William 2
Perkins James 2
Prince James
Paine George

Poor Moſes
Parſons Eben jun.
Rowe Hannah 2
Rich Obadiah jun.
Ruſt William
Ruggles Samuel
Richardſon William
Rice John
Richards Nathaniel
Runey Robert
Read Joſeph
Ripley Joſeph
Richards Joſeph
Renaud A.
Ruſſell Joſeph eſq. 2
Rogers Daniel D.
Rowe Joſeph
Richards Elizabeth
Revere Joſhua
Rogers S.
Read Sampſon
Roulſtone Michael
Roberts Joſiah
Rand doct. Iſaac
Richardſon Jeffrey
Smith George
Storer Ebenezer eſq.
Sears David 4
Spooner doct. William
Sullivan James eſq.
Sigourney Eliſha
Scollay William
Shimmin William
Smith N.
Sawyer Artemas
Smith Samuel 2
Sargent capt. Daniel 2
Sargent Maj. John T. 2
Sumner Benjamin
Smith William
Sturgis Ruſſell eſq.
Sumner Samuel
Sigourney Andrew
Snow Joſhua
Stedman Joſiah
Swan Joſhua
Symmes Ebenezer
Stackpole William 2
Saliſbury Samuel 2
Scholtz John G.
Simonds Benjamin
Swett Samuel
Sewall Joſeph
Story William
Swan Thomas
Smith Adam
Scudder Daniel
Sturgis Samuel
Stutſon Samuel
Snow Prince jun.
Singleton James C.
Salter Richard
Smith John
Seaver Nathaniel
Smith & Turner
Sanger Jeſſee
Simmons Thomas
Sigourney Daniel
Skinner William S.
Smith Benjamin jun.
Saliſbury S. jun.
Sullivan J. L.
Stoddard David
Thayer Minot
Thwing Samuel jun.
Thompſon Joſiah
Tichnor Eliſha
Townſend David
Tucker & Thayer 2
Tuckerman Guſtavus
Tyler David
Tuckerman Edward jr.
Tucker Beza
Torrey Joſeph
Tileſton Lemuel
Tyler Iſaac
Trott Andrew C.
Thayer Amaſa
Tuck Samuel G.
Treat Robert
Tucker Richard D.
Tyler Joſeph
Thayer David
Tilden Joſeph jun.
Thayer Maj. S. M.
Tilden B. L.
Taylor John
Turner William
Tudor William eſq.
Tillotſton Daniel
Thomas doct. Joſhua
Tufts Ebenezer
Thayer Nathaniel
Thayer Moſes
Thayer Richard
Thayer John
Thwing James
Voſe Betſey E
Vinton Joſiah jun.
Voſe Charles
Vuax Thomas
Varney Benjamin
Voſe Joſhua
Vollentine Nathaniel
Whitney Amos
Whiting George
Watſon George 2
Wakefield Terence
Waters John
Waters J. jun.
Wells Seth
Welch John N.
Wells Arnold jun. 2
Watſon Marſton 3
Whiting Ruggles
Winthrop John jun.
Wells Benjamin T.
Webb Nathan
Wheelwright Job
Webſter Redford
Welſh doct. Thomas
Wade Ebenezer 2
Woodward Smith
Weld Daniel
Willard Joſiah
Williams Thomas
Weſt Nathaniel P.
Whitman Davis
Wright Edmund
Winthrop Thomas L.
Wiggin Benjamin
White Ebenezer 3
Wilington Jonathan
Winſlow gen. John
Wild Abraham
Warren doct. John
Winſhip Amos
Wells Ebenezer
White Iſaac
White Cornelius

Whitwell William
Whipple doct. Joſeph
Winſhip Stephen
Whitney Ezra 2
Wait John
Wheeler Moſes
Williams John D. 2

SALEM.

Appleton William
Andrews Jonathan jun.
Aſhton Richard
Allen capt. Edward jun
Appleton John
Barker John
Boden William jun.
Brooks Samuel
Barnes Thomas jun.
Blackler John C.
Beckford Ebenr. eſq
Bacon Jacob
Beckford Anne
Barnes James jun.
Barr Robert
Briggs Enos
Blanchard Benjamin
Blanchard Samuel
Bentley Rev. W.
Buffington Capt. John
Bancroft William
Beckford Jonathan
Bigelow William
Buffum Samuel
Buffum Joſhua
Burrill Alden
Butman Eliphalet
Bray Daniel
Burnham John
Barnard Thomas
Babbidge J.
Bacon William
Boit John
Cabot William
Croſs George C.
Croſs Joſeph
Crowninſhield captC 2
Clark John 3d
Cleaveland W. jun.
Collins Tracy
Curwan Samuel
Clark Daniel
Cleaveland Charles
Clark capt. Henry
Carpenter Benjamin
Carnes capt. Jonathan
Collins capt John
Chandler John
Daland Thorndike jun.
Daland John
Dodge Pickering
Dean George
Derby John
Dodge Iſrael jun.
Dodge Benjamin
Derby E. H.
Fogg Joſeph
Felt Benjamin
Felt G. W.
Frye Daniel
Forreſter capt, Simon
Fenno Joſeph
Fairfield capt. John
Foſter capt John
Gwinn Thaddeus
Goud James
Gray Samuel jun.
Grafton Joſhua
Gray John
Gardner capt. John
Gray William S.
Grafton capt. W.
Glover John
Hiller Joſeph
Hobart Noah
Harvy Amos
Harrington Eliſha
Hauſter George
Hathorne Joſeph
Hawks Benjamin
Ingerſol capt. J.
Jeffry James
Johnſon Micajah
Jenks John
King James
Knight Eliſha
Lambert Samuel
Lang Dr. E. S.
Laurence capt. Abel
Lander capt. Benjamin
Lander capt. Peter
Lee Thomas jun.
Motey John
Merriam William
Maxcy Levi
Maſon capt. Jona. jun.
Manning Rich'd. jun.
Nichols David
Nichols capt. Ichabod
Neill capt John
Osborn Stephen
Oſgood Joſeph
Orne capt William 2
Oſgood Iſaac eſq.
Orne Joſiah
Oliver W. W. 2
Oſgood capt John
Pickman Benja. eſq. 3
Pritchard John
Prince Henry
Peirce capt. Daniel
Putnam Samuel eſq
Pickman Wm eſq 2
Page capt Daniel
Plummer Erneſtus A
Putnam Barth'w. eſq
Putnam capt John
Proctor capt Daniel 2
Putnam Ebenezer
Porter Dudley
Prince capt John jun
Peele capt Jonathan
Perkins Joſeph eſq
Peabody capt Joſeph
Peirce Jerathmeel
Perkins capt Thomas
Peirce Nathan
Poole Ward
Ropes Samuel
Richardſon Joſiah
Read Daniel
Ruſt capt Henry
Ropes David
Reed Nathan
Ruſſell John
Richardſon capt. Wm.
Richardſon Jeſſe
Scobie John

Saunders John P
Seccombe Joſeph
Seccombe C B
Seccombe Ebenezer
Seccombe Thomas
Seccombe John
Southwick John
Smith Jonathan
Stoddard Ebed
Sumner B. C.
Saunderſon Jacob
Sprague Joſeph jun
Saunders capt D.
Shillaber Ebenezer
Savage Ezekiel
Smith Eliſha
Sprague Joſeph eſq
Saunders Thomas
Silsbee capt Nathan.
Swett capt Enoch
Sawyer James
Sargent capt F. W.
Sargent capt Ignatius
Saville James
Somes John 3d
Somes capt Benjamin
Saywood William
Somes Iſaac
Saywood Daniel
Stephens Cyrus
Sawyer Abraham
Saywood c pt Henry
Turell W. B.
Teague Nathaniel
Tucker Gideon
Treadwell John eſq
Ward William
Winn Joſeph
Wiggins Richard
Woodbury Joſiah
Wiggins Joſeph
Weſt capt Benjamin
Webb capt Stephen
Ward Samuel
Ward G. H.
Waters capt Joſeph
Weſt capt Nathaniel
Waldo Jonathan eſq
Watkins Benjamin
Webb Michael

White capt Edward
Weſt capt Joſeph
2 Ward Edward C.

GLOUCESTER.

Allen Joſeph jun.
Bates capt, Henry
Brown Eliſha
Baker Thomas
Brown Jonathan
Burnham Aaron
Boynton John
Brown Jonathan 3d
Baker Joſeph
Butler John
Burnham Ebenezer
Babion William jun.
Corey Thomas
Chellis Gideon
Collins Daniel eſq
Choate Joſiah
Choate Adoniram
Collins Nathaniel
Currier Adoniram
Cole Weeden
Cleveland Rev. Eben'r.
2 Coffin Lucy
Coffin W.
Cuſhing Zenas
Coffin Peter eſq
Collins Ebenezer H
Dane William
Dennis John jun
Dane John
Denniſon James
Dexter William
DennisSamuel
Davis capt William
Davis Epes
2 Dennis John
Day James
Denniſon Iſaac
Davis George
Fudger J G
Foſter capt J
Forbes Rev Ely
Foſter capt J jun
Farr capt David
Fuller Rev David
Foſter Elijah jun

Gee capt William
Griffin Nath.
Goſs capt James
Gilbert Samuel
Griffin James
Griffin Oliver
Hayes Daniel
Hodgkins Jacob
Hall Aaron
Hough B K
Hardey Samuel
Harriden David
Haskell Nath
Haſkell Zebelon
Haskell Aaron
Haskell Daniel
Haskell Stephen
Haskell capt A
Haskell Moſes
Haskell Zebelon jun
Haskell W jun
Haskell capt John
Harriden Joſeph
Harriden John
Ingerſol Rebecca
Ingalls Joſeph
Johnſon John
Kingſman William
Kingsbury Aaron
Knight Joſeph
Kingſman capt John
Knowlton Nehemiah
Knowlton Moſes
Kimball David
Kimball capt Jona.
Lane Jonathan D
Lock Joſeph
Luſkin capt David
Low capt Francis
Low John jun
Lane David
Littlehale Richard
Low John 2d
Lincoln Pritchard
Littlehale Joſeph
Lincoln E
Low John 3d
Lane W R
Luskin Thomas
Luskin William

Maſon John
Moore Thomas
Moore Joſeph
Maſon Thomas
Millett Thomas jun
Mansfield James
Merchant Daniel
Newman John
Norwood Guſtavus
Norwood James
Ober Jonathan
Oakes Thomas
Oakes John jun
Parſons capt Thomas
Proctor Iſaac
Pelham Thomas
Poole Major Mark
Pearce capt David
Prindall Eliakim
Parſons Obed
Parſons capt Sam'l jun
Parſons capt Aaron
Parſons Nath
Pear Andrew
Peirce capt. W. jun.
Peirſon W eſq.
Prindall Eldad
Plumier Aaron
Proctor Benjamin
Phelps Henry
Rowe John eſq.
Rogers John
Rogers Timothy
Robbins Phillemore
Ruſt capt John
Rogers William
Rogers capt. C 2
Rogers J. G. eſq.
Rowe Maj. John
Rowe William
Sargent David
Sargent Abimelech
Sargent Jonathan
Scott John
Stanwood Zebulun
Steel John
Saville Thomas
Sargent Winthrop
Sargent Guſtavus
Smith Jacob
Tucker capt John
Tucker W. eſq.
Tappan capt. J.
Wharff capt. Iſaac
Woodbury capt. Joſhua
Wallace David
Whittemore Samuel eſq.
Warner Daniel eſq.
Wharff capt. David
Warner capt. Nathl.
Webber capt. J. jun.
White capt. Henry
Whittredge O. S.
Whalen Michael
Woodbury Nathaniel
Whittredge Richard
Webber capt. Benja.
Weſt Benjamin

PLYMOUTH.

Crandon Benjamin
Cotton Roffeter
Crombie W. jun.
Crandon C.
Drew Benjamin jun.
Drew Lemuel jun.
Duncan David
Davis William
Dunbar John D.
Dike Anthony
Goodwin William
Goodwin Timothy
Holmes Eleazer
Hodge Barnabas, jun.
Haywood Nathan
Harlow Southwick
Jackſon William
Jackſon Charles
Jackſon Thomas jun.
Jackſon Johnſon
Janes Samuel
Kendall James
Lothrop Nathaniel
Morton Lemuel
Paty John
Richardſon R. R.
Ruſſell Nathaniel
Seymour Benjamin
Spooner Ephraim
Thacher James
Thomas Joſhua
Truſt Joſeph
Torrey John
Tufts Jonathan
Weld Jabez & co.
Watſon William
Wethrell Thomas jun.
Whiting Benjamin
Wethrell Thomas

DORCHESTER.

Blackman James
Badlam Ezra
Bowman W. eſq.
Baker Edmund
Badlam Stephen jun.
Blake Enos
Crehore Samuel
Clap Samuel
Capen Ebenezer
Clap Joſeph
Davenport Ebenezer
Davenport Samuel
Davenport capt. James
Davenport Daniel
Eaton capt. Pearſon
Everett Moſes
Glover Samuel
Hawes Jeſſe
Howe Iſaac
Hall Richard
How Abraham
Hearſey J
Hawes William T.
Jacobs Benjamin
Leeds Daniel A. M.
Lewis James
Leeds Alexander
Peirce Stephen
Preſton John
Peirce col. Samuel
Robinſon James
Robinſon Maj. James
Richards Samuel
Sanderſon Iſaac
Simmons Benjamin
Sumner William
Tileſton Euclid

Tower Daniel
Thayer Arodi
Tolman Ebenezer
Topliff Samuel A. M.
Williams John
Willington Ebenezer
Withington Edward
Withington Samuel
Walker William
Whitney Moſes

MARBLEHEAD.

Bowen Nathan
Bond John
Blacker C W
Barker Joſeph
Boden William
Bartlett Samuel
Duey John
Devereaux Samuel
Elkins Thomas
Gerry Samuel R
Goodwin John
Graves Ebenezer
Hooper William
Hooper Nathaniel
Hooper Robert
Haſkell Thomas
Hooper Samuel
Hooper Benjamin jun.
Lewis Edmund
Lee William R
Lee Samuel
Martin Knott
Mansfield Iſaac
Orne Joſhua
Prentiſs Joſhua
Prince Richard
Reed William
Story Iſaac
Story Eliſha
Sparhawk John
Tedder John
Wilſon Joſeph
Waite John

WALPOLE, (N. H.)

Allen gen. Amaſa
Alker Thomas
Bullard maj. Aſa 2
Bellows Joſeph jun
Belcher John
Bennett Moſes
Bellows Roſwell
Bellows Thomas eſq
Cunningham John
Chamberlain H V
Drew Thomas C
Elkins Harvey
Feſſenden Rev Tho's.
Gardner Francis eſq
Lacey Daniel
M'Hurin E H
Redington Thomas
Sturtevant Iſaac
Stone David
Thomas Alexander eſq.
Voſe Roger eſq.

KEENE, (N H)

Adams Dr Daniel
Blake Abel capt
Blake Solomon
Bond John G 12
Bachelor Thomas P
Blake W W
Cooke Noah eſq
Clarke Feſſenden
Chapman Daniel
Croſsfield Amos
Dinsmore Samuel eſq.
Dorr Joſeph
Eaſterbrook John
Edwards Dr. Thomas
Forbes David eſq
Hall rev Aaron
Johnſon Moſes
Lamſon William 4
Morſe James
Maccarty D Thac.
Newcomb hon. Daniel
Nims capt Alpheus
Prentiſs John
Ralſton James B
Ralſton Alexander eſq
Stiles Jeremiah eſq
Stiles Joſeph
Todd major William

WISCASSETT.

Adams Samuel
Anderſon Francis
Bowman Jonathan jun
Blythe Francis
Bloſſom Mathew
Bradford Alden
Child Royland
Crate Thomas M
Danforth Joſhua
Elwell Robert
Foye William jun
Foye John S
Glidden John
Hodge James
Hilton Andrew
Hilton Joſhua
Moffat James
Minot John jun
Pike William
Payſon Jonathan
Stetſon Joſeph
Smith Ebenezer
Sanborn Bradbury
Tinkham Joſeph
Tinkham Seth
Tinkham Spencer
Thayer Zebediah
Woood J T
Wood Abial jun

CONCORD.

Ambroſe Stephen
Abbot Joſeph
Abbot Ephraim
Ayers Richard
Abbot Jacob
Choate Robert
Chandler Timothy
Carrigain Philip jun.
Davis John
Dow Jacob
Emmons Jacob
Flagg Iſaac
Farnum Joſiah
Green Nathaniel
Gain Samuel
Hough George

PORTSMOUTH

Alden Timothy
Adams Nathaniel esq.
Bryard Oliver
Buckminſter Joſeph
Blunt O. C.
Chadbourn Th. jun. 4
Cooper W. S.
Haven Joſeph
Hill John B.
Henderſon James
Ladd Henry
Lunt Thomas
Libbey Jeremiah 3
Maſſy George jun.
Peirce Charles 12
Perry Martin 2
Slade John S.
Sims Mark
Tappan Amos
Walker Seth
Wentworth John esq.
Walker William

PROVIDENCE.

Arnold Samuel G.
Arnold James
Anthony Michael
Aborn Samuel jun.
Aborn Peleg
Brown Obediah
Brown Nicholas
Burgiſs Triſtram
Burroughs George K.
Butler Samuel jun.
Brume Benjamin
Baſton Henry
Butler Cyrus
Barnes D. L.
Blodget William
Brume Allen
Cuſhing Nathaniel
Chaviteau Joſeph
Carliſle Samuel
Clark John J.
Corlis John
Carter John jun.
Carliſle John
Dyer Eliſha
Dexter John S.
Dexter Edward
Dorrance John
Eveleth John
Farnum Zebediah
Fiſher Nathan
Graves Zephaniah
Green Samuel W.
Halſey T. L. jun
Hitchcock Enos
Hallowell F. A.
Howell J. B.
Jones Gershom
Jones William
Lippett Moſes
Lathrop Zebediah
Lawrence Joſeph
Leonard Ezra jun.
M Lellan Samuel
Mumford John
Ma omber Ebenezer
Munroe & co.
Mitchell Mrs.
Maſon Joſeph
Maſon Samuel
Martin Sylvanus G.
Olney Chriſtopher
Olney Chriſtopher C.
Pick Joſeph
Pick William
Pick Benjamin
Paine Walter
Rhodes Zachariah
Searle Nathaniel
Seamans Young
Smith Benjamin
Snow Warton
Smith Henry
Sheldon Charles
Tingley Arannah
Vinton David
Whipple John
Wheaton Henry
Williams John
Ward John
Wheeler John
Weeden Samuel

PORTLAND.

Bacon Henry
Boyd capt. Joſeph C.
Bagley Abner
Cox John
Frye William R.
Fox Charles
Gregg rev. William
Goodwin Thomas
Harding Ariſton
Hopkins James D.
Hunnewel col. Richard
Harper Samuel
Hutſon William
Ilſley Hoſea
Ilſley Henry
Jenks Elezer A. 12
Jenks William jun.
Jones Enoch
Johnſon Daniel
Little Charles
Leonard Lieut. Nathl.
Motley Thomas jun.
Moody Benjamin
Moody Nathanl. capt.
Mayo capt. Ebenr.
Moody William
Moody William 2d
Paine Joſiah 6
Peironnet Thomas
Peirſon George
Pratt Nathan
Parker Hon. Iſaac
Poor Frye
Southgate Horatio
Tucker Joſiah
Vaughan William J.
Weeks William C.
Wadſworth John
Woodman John
Waite William
Weeks Lemuel jun.

PITTSFIELD.

Allen Bartlett
Bement H. A.
Larned Simeon

EXETER.

Abbott Benjamin
Brooks Samuel
Badger John
Dean John jun.
Emery Joanna
Emery N.
Folſom Simeon
Fogg Peter
Gilman J. T. eſq.
Gilman J. T. jun.
Gilman J. S.
Gilman Nathaniel
Graves T. R.
Hale Eliphalet
Hutchins Ezra
Lamſon Gideon
Lawrence Jotham
Leavett Benjamin
Parker Samuel D.
Parker William
Peabody Oliver
Parker Nathaniel
Pearſon James
Read George
Ranlet Henry
Robinſon Ephraim
Rowland Wm. F.
Shepard Benjamin
Sheriff B. P.
Smith Jeremiah
Titcomb Moſes
Tilton Joſeph
Tilton Joſeph jun.
Tilton Henry
Tenney Samuel
Dodge Jabez

MEDFIELD.

Adams Horatio
Bradford Walker
Breck Jonathan
Baxter John
Ellis George
Ellis Abner
Fiſke Jonathan
Herring William
Jerauld James
Maſon John
Metcalf Luther
Prentiſs rev. Thomas
Peters William
Smith Amos
Townſend Gregory
Townſend Sarah
Townſend Horatio
Wheelock Seth

HAVERHILL.

Atwood Moſes
Burrill Joſeph.
Blanchard Samuel
Brickett David
Bradley Samuel
Back Eliphalet
Boyle Thomas
Balch Weſsly P.
Bradley Enoch
Cleaveland Parker
Duncan James jun.
Emery Samuel
Fitz Nathaniel
Greenleaf William
12 Harding Jeſſe
Haſeltine James 3d.
Hill G. W.
Leboſquett Eben
Manſize Simon
Mullikin Stephen
Oſgood Timothy
Pattee David
Simpſon James
Smith Hezekiah
Simpſon Alexander
Swett Daniel
Smiley William jun.
Smith Jonathan K.
Sargent Jonathan B.
Tucker Ichabod 3
Wingate Moſes
White Leonard
Weſt Richard
Willis B. jun.

LYNN.

Breed Aaron

MILTON.

Bronſdon Benjamin
Bodge Joſeph
Gardner John
Peirce capt. Rufus
Sloan Peter
Sumner Jeſſe
Smith Iſaac
Spurrs Samuel H.
Voſe Betſey Eliot'

NEWTON.

Bacon Phineas
Curtis Solomon
Cook Benjamin
Crane Stephen
Cheney Daniel
Craft Henry
Downing James
Fuller Silas
Garfield Moſes
Hyde Charles
Hyde Nathan
Herring Abſalom
Hyde George
Hoogs Wm. jun.
Jackſon Artemas
Jackſon Ephraim
Mills Luke jun.
Stock John
Stedman Ebenezer
Stedman Joſeph jun.
Stearns Ebenezer
Stimpſon Samuel
Wales Benjamin
Wales Nathaniel

LEOMINSTER.

Newman Gowen B.
Phelps Robert
Stearns Eli.
Stedman William
Wales Joſeph
Willard Benjamin W.
Ward Samuel
Fairbanks Jonas
Thayer N

IPSWICH.

Andrews Aſa
Burnham Thomas
Baker Aſa
Crocker Joſeph
Cogſwell Wade
Caldwell John 3d
Choate David
Coffin Wm. jun.
Dana Joſeph
Dana Samuel
Friſbie Levi
Jewett Richard D.
Kidder Iſaiah
Lord Joſeph
Manning Thomas
Smith Joſhua
Swaſey Joſeph
Wallis Moſes
Williams Benjamin

CHARLESTON.

Bartlett Joſiah eſq.
Goodwin Edward
Gorham John
Jenkins Iſrael
Jaques Samuel jun,
Lamſon John eſq.

NORFOLK, Con.

Aikins Edward
Bartlett Joſeph
Pettibone Auguſtus
Robbins Nath
Robbins Thomas

N. PROVIDENCE.

Abbot Stephen
Maſon James
Rhodes Chriſtopher
Withington Abraham

STOCKBRIDGE.

Brown Henry
Holbrook E. S.
Ingerſol Jonathan

NEEDHAM.

Bowditch G.
Floyd Philip
Kingſbury Aſa
Lyon Peter
Pratt Samuel

DANVERS.

Brown Parker
Endicott John
Fowler Samuel jun.
Gray James
Kettle John
Oſborn Richard
Oſborn Joſeph
Page Samuel
Page John
Putnam Eleazer
Putnam Jeſſe
Proctor Sylveſter
Pindar John
Pindar William
Putnam Nathaniel jun.
Poole Fitch
Sprague Joſeph
Storrs Nathaniel
Torrey Joſeph
Willſon Robert

HANOVER.

Brewſter Gen. Eben.
Cabot S. C.
Curtis Col. David
Clark Benjamin
Clark Joſeph
Davis Moſes
Farrar William
Freeman Jonathan
Freeman hon. Ruſſell
Gilbert B. I. eſq.
Lang Richard
Parks Levi
Stockbridge David
Smith rev. John
Thayer Gideon L.
Woodward maj W.
Woodward Jonathan

ROXBURY.

Ayers Adin
Billing Lemuel
Baker John W.
Dows Thomas
Dudley Joſeph
Davis Aaron
Faxon Elab
Gore Samuel
Gridley James
How James
Lowell Charles
Peirpont Charles
Sumner William H.
Williams Stephen
Wait Samuel
Whiting Joel
Wait Benjamin
Weld Dea. David

TOPSFIELD

Bixby Daniel
Perkins David jun.
Peabody John jun
Perkins Robert jun.
Rogers Joel
Town Jacob 3d
Town David

LEBANON

Billings Stephen
Daken Samuel
Freeman J. O.
Phelps Howard
Wells J. M.

BEVERLY,

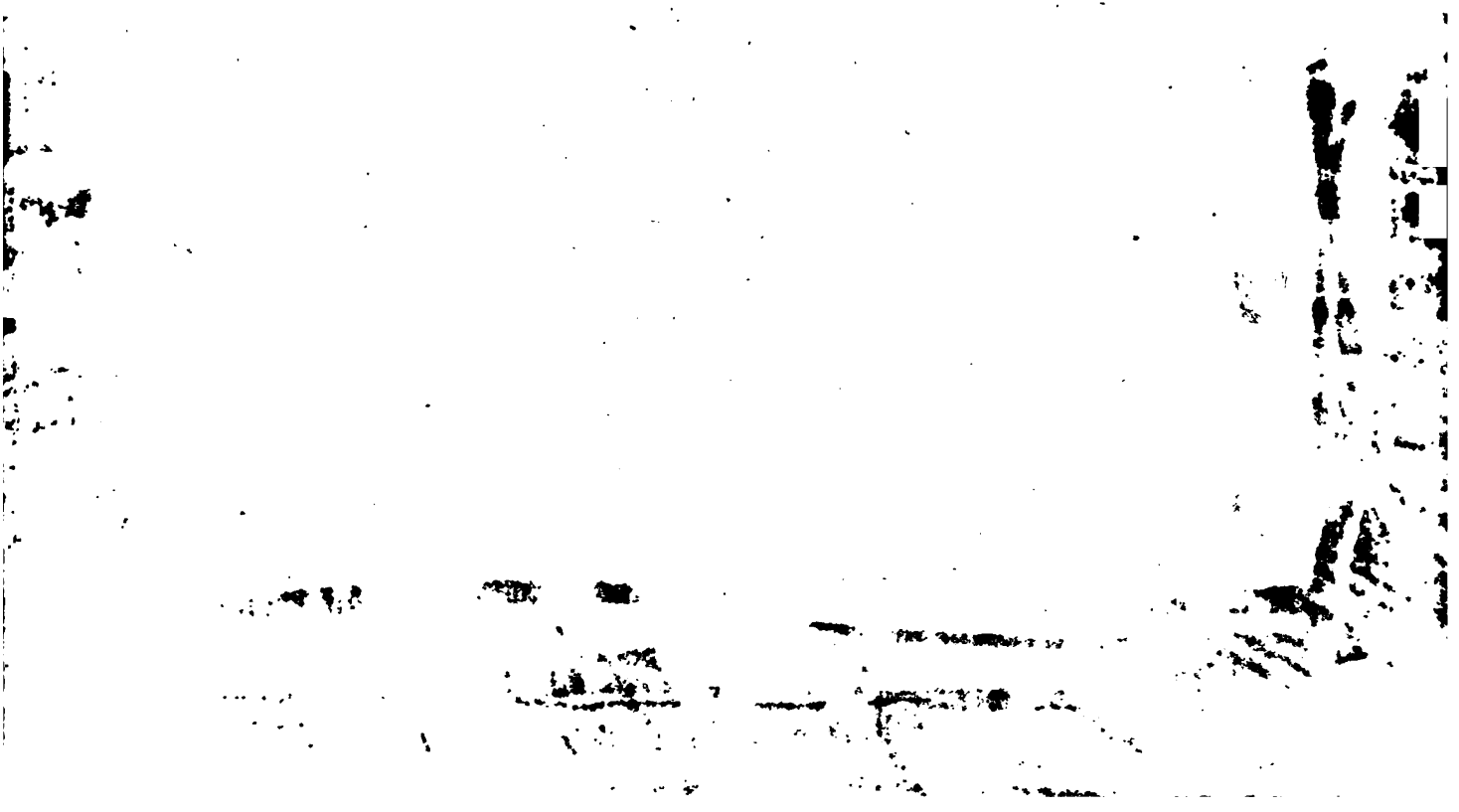
Burnham James
Chapman Abner
Endicott Robert
Francis John
Goodrige Samuel
Lee capt. Joſeph
Porter Billy
Thatcher Stephen
Trask Bartholomew
Adams Daniel

Batchelder Nathaniel	*Beverly*	Tibbets John	*Somersworth*
Brown Benjamin jun.	do	How rev. Perley	*Surry*
Batchelder Joſiah	do	Wheeler J. B.	*Grafton*
Creeſy Henry	do	Farnham Benjamin	*Andover*
Davis Thomas jun.	do	Froſt William	do
Dike John	do	Farrington Philip	do
Foſter Daniel	do	Lovejoy Nathaniel eſq.	do
Furnis William	do	White T. G.	*Wilmington N. C.*
Fiſher Joſhua	do	Storrs Aaron	*Randolph*
Goodridge William	do	Fairchild Timothy	*Norwich*
Giles Ebenezer	do	Williams Joſeph	do
Kilham Abraham	do	Woodward capt. George	do
Lamſon Francis	do	Fry G. Waſhington	*Fryburgh*
Leach Nathan	do	Hubbard Roſwell	*Sullivan*
Leach William jun.	do	Ropes George	*Oxford*
Oliver Jacob	do	Foſter John	*Cambridge*
Packard Ephraim	do	Pomeroy C. W.	do
Stickney Samuel	do	Kingſbury Eliſha	*Alſtead*
Smith Nehemiah	do	Friak Calvin	*Swanſey*
Smith Ebenezer jun.	do	Brown Benjamin	do
Stephens John	do	Whitcomb Philemon	do
Thorndike Henry	do	Whitcomb Abijah	do
Thomſon Jacob	do	Foſter Samuel	*Candia*
Treadwell Nathaniel	do	Froſt George	*Northwood*
Thorndike Thomas	do	Froſt John	*Durham*
Whittemore Joſeph	do	Ham John	do
Whitney Eliſha	do	Richardſon Joſeph	do
Wallis Daniel	do	Seywood capt. Henry	do
Whittredge Livermore	do	Foſter Stephen	*Bradford*
Worſley James	od	Greenough Ebenezer.	*Canterbury*
Wallace john	do	Forbes Major Abner	*Wendſor*
Enſlin Frederick	*Boſton*	Grout Benjamin	*Belchertown*
Ellis Jonathan	do	Willard Herman	*Stockbridge*
Eaton David S.	do	Willard John	do
Greene Benjamin jun.	do	Gilman Allen	*Hallowell*
Gridley Richard	do	Greenwood Abel	*Framingham*
Gookin Samuel	do	Gilbert Daniel eſq.	*Enfield*
Glover Lewis	do	Green William	*Meaway*
Dow Jabez	*Kenſington*	Hopkins Moſes eſq.	*G. Barrington*
Batchelder Jeremiah	do	Whiting John eſq.	do
Waterman Thomas	*Lebanon*	Hale Enoch	*W. Hampton*
Thayer Ebenezer	*Braintree*	Hall hon. Lott eſq.	*Weſtminſter*
Smith Jacob	*Royliſton*	Traſk capt. Iſrael C.	do
Eaton Jonathan	*Sutton*	Waite Lt. Marmaduke	do
Holmes Heman	*Kingſton*	Herrick Daniel	*Hopkinſton*
Judkins Moſes	do.	Appleton Jeſſe	*Hampton*
Emerſon Edward	*York*	Hyde rev. Alban.	*Lee*
Sewall Daniel eſq.	do	Ingerſol William jun.	do
Froſt William P.	do	Brwer Eliab eſq.	*Lenox*

Gleren Amaſa do
Bebee Hoſea *N. Canaan*
Barſtow Doct Samuel *Sharon*
Bridge Edmund *Dreſden* 6
Lithgow J. N. do
Bartlett Joſeph *Stratham*
Hopkins J. *Philadelphia*
Shaw W. H. do.
Butler Benjamin *Deerfield*
Gould Jacob Jun. *Boxford*
Perkins Eliſha. do
Kimball Aſa do
Symonds Joſeph jun. do
Buxton Samuel *N. Yarmouth*
Brown rev. Clark *Brimfield*
Barrett col. John *Springfield*
Dean Aaron *Charleſton N. H.* 12
Burlin Jepthah *Hopkington*
Bowers Andrew *Saliſbury*
Thompſon Thomas do
Wilder Luke do
King John jun. *Abington*
Porter Jacob do
Norton Noah do
Norton William do
Bemis Luke *Watertown*
Faulkner Francis do
Hight William *Berwick*
Pearſon Silas *Newburyport*
Reed Daniel *Lewiſton*
Dunning D. *Brunſwick*
Quinbey Henry do
Jenks Nathaniel *N. Glouceſter*
Adams Stephen *Hamilton*
Lukeman Nathan do
Tucker Barnard *Wenham*
Bridge William *Eaſt-Sudbury*
Thomas John *Kingſton*
Bigelow Barna *Brookfield*
Snow Gideon *Georgetown*
Brown Jonas eſq. *Waltham*
Cuſhing Jacob do
Cleaveland Nehemiah *Topsfield*
Dorman Joſeph do
Thaxter rev. Joſeph *M. Vinyard*
Delano Ephraim *Woodwich*
Hill Jeremiah *Biddeford*
Butterfield Eraſmus *Malborough*
Stone John do
Vinal capt. W. jun. *Scituate*
Clark Scollo *Weſtminſter Ver.*
Dexter Samuel *Weſton*
Bigelow hon. Timothy *Groton*
Dana Samuel do
Preſcott Samuel J. do
Coughran Joel *Jeffry*
Minot Samuel do
Davis Moſes *Edgecombe*
Chaffee Ezra *Newbedford*
Upham Edward *N Salem*
Voſe Solomon eſq. *Northfield*
Crocker Samuel *Taunton*
Leonard Apollos B. do
Seabury J. W. do
Crafts David *Manchester*
Hooper William do
Leach Ezekiel do
Tappan Eben do
Coolidge William *Livermore*
Cook Joſeph eſq. *Middlebury*
Chandler John *Petersham*
Carpenter Aſahel *Reboboth*
Ellis James do
Chaviteau J. B. & H. *Havannah*
Chaponel Anthony *Piſcataqua*
Kimball Jacob *Topsfield*
Whitting Nathan *N. Canaan*
Childs Francis *Dedham*
Draper Joſeph do
Greenwood Iſaac do
Harvey Jonathan *Sutton*
Hoit Joſeph B. *Warner*
Leonard Oliver eſq *Orrington*
Lucas John *Brooklyne*
Lovejoy Joſhua *Meredith*
Mattoon Ebenezer jun. *Amherſt*
M'Clary Michael *Epſon*
Newcomb Richard E. *Greenfield*
Mower Levi *Royſton Ver.*
Merrill doct. Aſa *Lempſter*
Merrit Stephen *Alford*
Nelſon Job. eſq. *Caſtine*
Norton Samuel *Hingham*
Nelſon Aſa *Rowley*
Roſs Donald *Trenton M.* 6
Osgood Chriſtopher *Pembroke*
Porter Jonathan E. *Hadley*
Porter Huntington *Rye*

Voſe Iſaac	*Boſton*	Norton Ichabod	do
Selfridge Thomas O.	do	Kelley Abraham	do
Everett David eſq.	do	Coffin James	do
Thomas, Andrews, & Penniman 80	*Albany.*	Coffin Timothy	do
		Olcott Capt. Roſwell	*Norwich*
Athearn capt. W.	*Edgartown*	Parkman J. A.	*Weſtborough*
Spalding Rufus	do	Paine Otis	*Foxborough*
Smith Benjamin eſq.	do	Peabody Benjamin	*Middleton*
Thaxter Joſeph	do	Peabody Francis	do
Cook Thomas eſq.	do	Storrs Seth eſq.	do
Jernigam hon. William eſq.	do	Stebbs Daniel	do
Athearn hon. James eſq.	do	Pinkerton James	*Londonderry*
Cottle Shubael eſq.	do	Paine Seth eſq.	*Tunbridge*
Tilton Daniel	do	Read Joel	*Attleborough*
Davis Henry	do	Read David	*Smithfield*
Peaſe Argalis	do	Ramſey Thomas S.	*Brentwood*
Daggett Timothy	do	Rowſon Mrs	*Medford*
Mayhew deacon William	do	Read Benjamin	do
Jernigan William jun.	do	Tufts James	do
Allen John Jun.	do	Rhodes Amos	*Lynn*
Peaſe Martin	do	Robinſon James	do

[*The above Liſt of Subſcribers, contains all the Names that were received previous to the commitment of this ſheet to the preſs.*]



Essex Institute Library

DEPOSITED BY

THE ESSEX SOUTH DISTRICT
MEDICAL SOCIETY

Received October 6, 1906